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NATO Council Session in Brussels Previewed

PM021109 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by special correspondent Vladislav Drobkov under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "It Was Simpler With the Bear..."]

[Text] Brussels—The NATO Council's 2-day session opens in the Belgian capital today. An unusual session, convened extraordinarily at the level of heads of state and government of the member countries to determine the alliance's long-term strategy after the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States.

Well, the forthcoming destruction of two classes of nuclear missile armaments simultaneously is an entirely fitting pretext for a fresh analysis of NATO strategy and indeed perhaps of the entire concept of maintaining security in Europe. After all, there's no denying that the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles could be the first real step toward the reduction of those "nuclear powder kegs" which are threatening not only Europe but the whole world. And the desire of the NATO countries' leaders to discuss the possible consequences of this step is entirely justified. Especially if this discussion is to be sober and unbiased. And if NATO also proves prepared to outline new, additional, prospects for reducing levels of military confrontation in Europe, then we could wish the Brussels summit success. Incidentally, the recently initiated early withdrawal of Soviet nuclear missiles from the territories of the GDR and the CSSR could have served as a good example to NATO if that bloc's Headquarters were truly anxious to ensure a more secure peaceful future for Europe, as Western propagandists and politicians do not tire of stating.

But I fear that these good intentions have little to back them up. The discordant chorus of statements and interviews issued on the eve of the NATO Council session by the Western countries' political and military leaders and the numerous commentaries and forecasts of their press contain few signs that the NATO bloc is prepared or is preparing for any new steps in curtailing military preparations. Rather the reverse, even. NATO Supreme Allied Commander Galvin urges the West Europeans in no circumstances to renounce the militarist programs they are already implementing or planning. Former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger is frightening them with the claim that the neutralization of Europe has been the goal of Soviet policy for 40 years now. U.S., British, and French statesmen are asserting that they will never allow the creation of a nuclear-free Europe. Essentially a discussion has now been launched at full tilt about how NATO could "compensate" for and cancel out the possible consequences of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which has not even been ratified yet in the United States and the USSR.

Does it follow from this that NATO is performing its old repertoire, so to speak, merely seeking in addition how to undermine our peace initiatives? Yes and no. In my view, matters now are somewhat different from the situation which used to exist in NATO. First, this time Washington is interested in its allies' approval of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. In addition, the United States would not like any contradictions to flare up at the Brussels session. And many contradictions have accumulated in the NATO alliance and not only on the question of nuclear missiles. And finally far from everyone in NATO is seized with the urge to modernize, not everyone is now seeking immediately to embark on filling the "breach" which has not yet even formed in NATO's missile palisade. The leaders of countries of influence in the NATO "club" such as the FRG and a number of other politicians have not only expressed themselves in favor of ratifying and implementing the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles but have also spoken of the unacceptability of plans to modernize NATO nuclear arms not affected by this treaty. French President F. Mitterrand also delivered an important statement recently in support of the Soviet-U.S. accord on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and in favor of establishing a balance of arms "at the lowest possible levels."

Of all the NATO political leaders it is perhaps British Prime Minister M. Thatcher who is continuing particularly openly to advocate the speedy modernization of the bloc's nuclear forces. Here she is supported by U.S. generals holding key positions in the alliance's military structure and by the most bellicose of the right-wing politicians in the United States, Britain, France, and several other allied states.

I recall that the British premier recently even held a kind of "reconnaissance in force," arriving in Brussels to address envoys from the NATO countries on her concept for building up the bloc's nuclear and other arsenals. Here, the London newspaper THE INDEPENDENT notes, M. Thatcher justified the need for arms upgrading by references to the fact that the Soviet Union allegedly intends to split NATO by sowing "confusion" in its ranks and "preparing the ground for aggression using conventional means." At the same time, according to the same newspaper, the British premier has complained that "it was easier to deal with the Russian bear when it looked more like a bear." In other words, it is increasingly difficult for Western politicians to portray our country in the notorious "image of the enemy" and thus justify the continuation of the militarist race aimed against the USSR.

What new concept does the NATO Council intend to elaborate? A concept for ensuring genuine security in Europe or a concept for continuing military preparations behind the screen of the old "Soviet threat?"

We will not be hasty in reaching conclusions. The immediate future will show whether NATO is capable of using the opportunities now opened up for real headway along the disarmament path or whether it intends to continue to put the blame on the "Russian bear."

U.S., USSR Criteria of Sufficiency Viewed

PM011505 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Observer Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "International Observer Replies to a Reader": "Criteria of Sufficiency: Two Approaches"]

[Text] Guards Major S. Zubov (Central Group of Forces) raises this question in his letter to the editors:

"New concepts are being encountered increasingly frequently in the press: 'reasonable sufficiency' in arms, armed forces, and military potentials and 'the principle of sufficiency for defense.' This principle, for example, is discussed in the document 'On the Warsaw Pact States' Military Doctrine.' At the same time, representatives of U.S. militarist circles and Washington administration officials also speak of the attainment of sufficiency in the arms sphere. I realize that we and the Americans invest this concept with different meaning. But I would like KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to help me gain a deeper understanding of this question."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Manki Ponomarev replies to Guards Major S. Zubov.

The question of reasonable sufficiency in arms really is relatively new. I do not think I would be wrong if I said that M.S. Gorbachev first formulated it in a speech during his 1985 visit to France. The formulation of this question is directly linked with the emergence and development of the new political thinking, whose basic starting point may be defined as follows: Nuclear war cannot be a means of achieving political, economic, ideological, or any other aims. Incidentally, nonnuclear war employing conventional arms has now, as a result of the development of military hardware, assumed such a character that it too is becoming comparable with nuclear war in terms of its destructive consequences. And so it too can have no reasonable grounds.

The new correlation of strength and security stems from the conclusion that it is impossible to resolve international contradictions by military, still less nuclear, means. Security can no longer be ensured by military means—neither the use of weapons, nor deterrence, nor the constant improvement and buildup of military potentials. The arms race is becoming absurd from the viewpoint of security, for its logic leads to the destabilization of international relations and, ultimately, to a nuclear conflict tantamount to the self-annihilation of mankind. In our age genuine security equal for all will be guaranteed by a lower and lower level of strategic balance, from which nuclear and other kinds of mass destruction weapons must be totally excluded.

All these ideas arising out of the new political thinking dictate in immutable categorical terms that the military doctrines of states and their alliances must be strictly defensive. And this is connected precisely with concepts such as reasonable sufficiency in arms, nonoffensive defense, the elimination of the imbalance and asymmetry in various branches of the armed forces, the separation of offensive groupings between the two blocs, and so forth.

Precisely these concepts are enshrined both in Soviet military doctrine and in the joint [koalitsionnaya] military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. The document, adopted at last year's Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee, states that the allied states have never had and do not have a desire to possess armed forces and arms in excess of what is necessary for defensive purposes. They adhere strictly to the principle of sufficiency for defense, for repulsing possible aggression.

What does this mean? On a general plane it means having the armed forces that are exactly necessary for protection against an attack from outside. What it means specifically is that the makeup of the armed forces and the quantity and quality of means of armed struggle are strictly commensurate with the level of the military threat and with the nature and intensity of imperialism's war preparations.

It is well-known, Sergey Gennadyevich, that military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact organization and the NATO bloc now remains the decisive factor in preventing war. Soviet military doctrine demands a constant analysis of the state of and development prospects for the opposing side's arms and the timely implementation of measures to rule out the spurring on of the arms race and, at the same time, prevent a change in the existing equilibrium. Two interrelated tasks—the prevention of war and readiness to rebuff an aggressor—are embodied in the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine. Consequently, it takes into account the possibility stemming from contemporary U.S. and NATO military-strategic views that the imperialists might unleash both a nuclear and a conventional war.

Therefore, the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces is maintained at a level commensurate with the threat of aggression. At the same time, the principle of sufficiency for defense is observed. This means that the USSR, like the other socialist countries, does nothing in the sphere of developing and producing arms in excess of what is necessary for defense. Thus, for example, Soviet strategic nuclear forces are maintained in accordance with the principle of sufficiency for defense and within the framework of the existing Soviet-U.S. parity. No more than that.

But the question arises: What is the criterion of sufficiency? And does this criterion exist at all? Yes, it does. But it must be borne in mind that the limits of sufficiency are determined not by us but by the actions of the United States and NATO. For the USSR's strategic nuclear forces, the essence of sufficiency is determined by the need to prevent an unpunished nuclear attack in any situation, even the most unfavorable one. For conventional means of armed struggle, sufficiency means having the quantity and quality making it possible to reliably safeguard our people's peaceful labor and ensure the resolution of tasks of the socialist community's collective defense. This is, I believe, expressed concisely in the well-known formula: We do not seek military superiority, but neither will we permit it over ourselves, and we do not aspire to greater security, but neither will we agree to less.

Does all this mean that for every nuclear warhead, every missile, and every aircraft, tank, and gun on the other side we must have an equal number of our own? No, it does not. The point is that such a response is, to a certain extent, a repetition of the actions of the initiators of the arms buildup or, to put it more simply, a game of tag. In practice this would frequently lead to laggardness in the process of arms upgrading. For in this case we would have to play to someone else's rules. A different response must be sought in order to avoid a negative development of events.

The following paradoxical circumstance must also be borne in mind here. Even if one side constantly arms itself while the other does nothing in this sphere and stays at the existing level, then the side which arms itself will still gain nothing. The weak side could simply detonate all its nuclear charges even on its own territory, and this would mean suicide for itself and slow death for the enemy. This is why the pursuit of military superiority is pursuit of a myth. It—this superiority—cannot be used in real politics.

Washington, however, does not wish to understand or acknowledge this. It still thinks in terms of pursuing superiority. You rightly remarked, Sergey Gennadyevich, that Washington also speaks of sufficiency. But what kind of sufficiency? Thus, a year ago the U.S. Defense Department maintained that the adoption of 50 MX missiles, 100 B-1B bombers, and so forth would be sufficient for the U.S. Armed Forces. Sufficient for what? For defense? No, to ensure U.S. military superiority—superiority which, generally speaking, cannot be achieved and which, even if you assume that it can be achieved, will be totally pointless. Can such "sufficiency" and the pursuit of it be called reasonable? Of course not. But it is continuing. Washington is now talking of adopting Stealth bombers and Midgetman ICBM's, and new Trident-system nuclear-powered submarines and nuclear-powered aircraft carriers are being commissioned. One of them—the "Abraham Lincoln"—has just been launched.

The U.S. attempts to implement the "star wars" program—once again with a view to achieving superiority over the USSR—appear particularly unreasonable. It has been stated repeatedly that the USSR is ready to respond to that program, and the response will be asymmetrical—far cheaper and very efficient. But Washington pretends not to hear these warnings and is continuing to have it its own way.

I would like to end my reply to you, Sergey Gennadyevich, with the words of M.S. Gorbachev. In his book "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and for the Whole World" he deemed it necessary to emphasize: "I will not be giving away any secret if I say that the Soviet Union is taking all the necessary measures to maintain its defense at a modern, reliable level. This is our duty to our own people and to our allies." This choice has been imposed on us. And we have to respond to it. We maintain our defense on the basis of the principle of sufficiency. Reasonable sufficiency.

Aim of NATO Military Exercise in Norway Viewed

LD011958 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—By TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov:

What is the aim of NATO military exercise?

There are real experts at the NATO headquarters at inventing names for NATO military exercises. This is not easy at all, for manoeuvres follow one another and each should have a new and sonorous codename.

This year the exercises of NATO's Mobile Forces will be codenamed "Arrowhead Express—88". They are starting in northern Norway on Wednesday.

Military units of nine NATO countries—the United States, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Canada, the Netherlands, West Germany, Norway and Luxembourg—will participate in these manoeuvres which will involve a total of 14,000 servicemen.

NATO's highly mobile striking force, officially named as "NATO's Mobile Forces", has been set up to appear immediately in any part of the world from northern Norway to eastern Turkey and eliminate any threat of "Soviet invasion" there.

And now U.S. General John Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, is ready to aim the NATO arrow at the Soviet border.

The proclaimed aim of the current NATO manoeuvres is to check how NATO's striking force can operate in northern conditions and to drill it in deterring the Eastern enemy, in other words the Soviet Union, should it invade Norway.

The striking force is to "eliminate the crisis and to extinguish the fire of invasion threatening Norway from the East".

The Soviet Union and Norway have a common border in the north, which was once crossed by Soviet troops: That happened 44 years ago when Nazi troops were driven out of Norwegian northern regions. In gratitude for such an "invasion" a monument to the Soviet soldier-liberator has been elected in the central square of the Norwegian city of Kirkenes liberated by Soviet troops. The Norwegians remember those events and also the liberating role of the Soviet soldier.

But the NATO headquarters have a different approach towards northern Norway. Washington has included that territory into the orbit of its "polar strategy" designed to isolate the Soviet Union in the event of a crisis situation, to cut off all routes—ground, air and sea—in the north and to create conditions for delivering strikes at Soviet northern regions. Now, NATO's striking force is polishing its operations in northern conditions.

The objective of this military exercise is obvious. By stirring up the war hysteria and intimidating people with a mythical "Soviet threat", Washington and its allies are trying to divert the public attention from questions of creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, to weaken the support for the Soviet multi-purpose programme of radically lowering the level of military confrontation in the northern hemisphere, forcing confrontation, mistrust and suspicion out of this region and their replacement with broad peaceful cooperation.

It looks as if NATO's "fire brigade" would like to "extinguish" these Soviet initiatives and also produce a negative impact on the broad sections of the Scandinavian public which favours the creation of an atmosphere of peace and accord in northern Europe.

Further on Meeting of Balkan States Ministers

SFRY's Loncar Cited

LD270010 Moscow TASS in English 2251 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade February 26 TASS—Special TASS correspondents Konstantin Vorobyov and Vladimir Matyash report:

Chairman of the meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, Yugoslavia's Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar spoke at the conclusion of the meeting.

"I believe I shall express the consensus if I say that the meeting justified our expectations and that we are satisfied with it," he said. "I believe we have laid down the foundations for broader and more fruitful Balkan cooperation in a number of areas. We have endorsed in principle also the priority directions of the future cooperation."

"The arrangement has also been reached to hold meetings at ministerial and other levels in various areas," Loncar went on. A strong impetus has been given to the widening of cooperation at non-governmental level by means of the existing and new forms. We have thus laid down the foundations for joint efforts in future. A great deal remains to be done. It is necessary to manifest political readiness and goodwill to develop our cooperation so that it should reach the expected level. At this moment, at the start of our road we, certainly, have no illusions that the problems accumulated in our region can be overcome promptly. We are aware of the difficulties but we also have confidence about our potentials."

"The common interests and requirements of all peoples and countries of the Balkan peninsula," the Yugoslav representative said, "require us to develop and cherish mutual respect, mutual understanding and confidence. The lessons of the past have been learned. They confirmed the need for the quest of the ways to strengthen cooperation of the Balkan countries and improve the overall situation in our region."

"Cooperation is the proven road for the creation of conditions for the development of bilateral and multilateral relations between our countries. We cannot tolerate that the Balkans should lag behind the current positive tendencies in international relations which are particularly noticeable in Europe. As part of Europe, the Balkan countries can best join in these processes by cooperation and will promote their consolidation."

"I would like to express the confidence that parting after this meeting we shall be ever more decisive in our striving to improve the situation in the Balkans. The constructive spirit that played an important role in Belgrade is the sign that our work in future will also be fruitful," Budimir Loncar said.

CSSR Spokesman Comments

LD011518 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 1 TASS—The Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan countries have given an important impulse to the process of detente in the region and marked the start of a new phase of cooperation in the name of strengthening peace in Europe, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Dusan Rovensky said here today.

The significance of the Belgrade forum, he said, has gone beyond the limits of the Balkans as it has been part of efforts to foster goodneighborly relations and cooperation in Europe.

Czechoslovakia, Rovensky said, fully supports the idea of creating a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons and important other proposals for broader cooperation between the Balkan countries with different social systems.

The Belgrade meeting has demonstrated, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman continued, that the Balkan countries can by their joint efforts and in a constructive and friendly spirit to solve all problems of multilateral and bilateral cooperation and contribute to stronger peace even more effectively.

Israel, South Africa Rights Violations Protested

LD291903 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—The Soviet public has protested against gross violations of human rights on the Israeli-occupied Arab lands and in the south of Africa. A message to the 44th session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, now under way in Geneva, has been sent by the participants in the meeting of the Presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, which was held in Moscow today. The message says:

"The unending crimes against the Palestinian people on the Israeli occupied Arab lands and growing outrages of South African racists against the native population of the Republic of South Africa evoke wrath and pain in the hearts of the Soviet people."

"Hundreds of people killed, thousands injured and mutilated, among them women, children and old men,—such is the bloody outcome of 'pacification', Israeli way. Incalculable are the victims of the policy of repressions and intimidation, abduction and killing of South Africans who come out against the apartheid regime. The recent ban in the Republic of South Africa on the United Democratic Front and other organizations is a fresh manifestation of total terror reigning in the country.

The anti-popular actions being perpetrated by the Pretoria and Tel Aviv authorities are an insolent challenge to the world community, a blunt disregard for the known U.N. resolutions, a violation of the universal declaration of human rights. Recism and its manifestation, Zionism, are the evil which engendered these actions.

On behalf of the millions of Soviet participants in the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement we call upon you to demand that an end be put to outrages upon human dignity of the Palestinians and the black population of the Republic of South Africa, for their inalienable national rights to be ensured and justice and peace to triumph in the Middle East and in the south of Africa."

Moscow Symposium on Cultural Development Held

LD272211 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—"The call of our complex and contradictory times is to activate the creative energies of the peoples of various countries and to utilise the achievements of world culture on a large scale in the name of peace, mutual understanding, and spiritual drawing together," stated Chingiz Aytmatov, a prominent Soviet writer.

He spoke today at an international symposium on the subject the role of creative intellectuals in the accomplishment of the tasks of the U.N.-designated World Decade (1988-1997) for Cultural Development. The symposium is being held in Moscow under UNESCO auspices.

Aytmatov described the U.N. action as unique in scope and timely in the highest degree. "It is possible to build harmonious international relations in all spheres of life on the basis of high cultural standards and ethical principles", the writer pointed out.

The participants in the symposium—prominent men of letters, scientists, art people, and representatives of various public organizations—voiced their views on the new initiative of UNESCO, and made a number of specific proposals concerning its practical realisation.

Cooperation in the field of culture is an effective instrument in the anti-war movement of peoples. This idea expressed by Honig Zierrock, a musician and public figure from the Federal Republic of Germany, was supported by Czechoslovak writer Bohumil Grabal.

It was pointed out at the symposium that the development of science and technology now gets ahead of the ethical development of man and that, so, UNESCO's new action the aim of which is to raise the cultural level and spiritual potential of man is all the more topical.

Academician Sergey Tikhvinskiy, a Soviet historian, came forward with the idea of working out under UNESCO's guidance several international programmes dealing with the development of human civilisation.

The participants in the symposium spoke of the need to give greater scope to exchanges of art values. It was proposed to organize several big exhibitions of the works of outstanding personalities in the field of art from all continents within the framework of the cultural development decade.

Zakharov, Karlov Speak

LD262304 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya newscast"]

[Excerpt] For the first time a unique international action, the World Decade of the Development of Culture proclaimed by the UN General Assembly on a proposal by UNESCO, will begin this year.

Taking part in the new UNESCO program, Soviet public organizations and creative unions proposed interesting and to a great extent unconventional initiatives in the spirit of the new thinking and new realities. They were discussed today at a session of the USSR National Committee for the Staging of the Decade and the USSR UNESCO Commission, together with the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Culture and Peace Funds, and our country's creative unions.

Comrades Dobrynin and Medvedev, leading scientists and cultural figures from the Soviet Union and many foreign countries, representatives of the public and clergy took part.

Speaking about the role of spiritual arsenal in preserving peace on earth Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; Karlov, first deputy chairman of the USSR UNESCO commission, and British writer Graham Greene stressed that harmonious international relations can be built only on well-cultivated soil and on the principles of morality and justice. [passage omitted]

EEC-Latin America Meeting Held in Hamburg

LD011818 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Hamburg March 1 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev reports:

The fourth conference of foreign ministers of countries of the EEC, Central America and the Contadora Group ended here today by adopting a joint political statement and a communique on economic matters. The sides agreed to continue an inter-regional dialogue aimed at the implementation of the plan of peaceful settlement adopted by presidents of five Central American countries. Foreign ministers of countries of the EEC and Central America declared for an early implementation of the programme of urgent economic aid to the Central American region worked out by the "Group of Eight" which includes the countries of the Contadora Group and the Support Group. A concrete contribution of the economic community to the implementation of this programme will be discussed in the framework of the community and at the coming meeting of representatives of the two regions. Political observers are of the opinion that its implementation will largely be determined by the development of a peaceful process in Central America. As an initial step, the European Economic Community pledged itself to allocate funds for the solution of the problem of refugees and problem of supplying food products to regions that were affected by the drought. The sides agreed to hold another, fifth conference in Honduras next year. The timeframe will be specified later.

Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto expressed satisfaction with the results of the conference. In an interview to the TASS correspondent he noted that the meeting gave a strong impetus for the advance along the road of peaceful settlement in the Central American region, intensification of the inter-regional dialogue and economic cooperation. He is of the opinion the European Community intends to contribute to the settlement of the regional conflict through talks and dialogue and not by military means, on which the United States continues banking. The policy of political blackmail and use of illegal subversive methods is doomed to failure. Washington's course comes up against the growing resistance of the world public and does not meet with understanding of its allies in NATO. It is only given respect for independence and sovereignty of every country and recognition of its right to decide on its road of development that peace in Central America can be achieved, the minister said.

Conference on Arctic Exploration Proposed

LD262030 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] The Soviet Union has proposed to convene an international conference this year on coordinating the exploration of the Arctic, it was reported at a Moscow press conference. The northern Soviet city of Murmansk was suggested as the venue. The conference could, in particular, discuss cooperation in environmental protection in the Arctic.

Korotkevich Urges Cooperation

LD291602 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Leningrad February 29 TASS—The new political thinking calls for the Arctic regions to become a zone of peace and cooperation, a TASS correspondent has been told in an interview by Dr. Yevgeniy Korotkevich, deputy director of the Arctic and the Antarctic Regions' Institute in Leningrad.

The noted polar explorer recalled that the Soviet Union had organized regular scientific observations in that area. The first drifting scientific laboratory of the USSR was opened there in 1937. A ground network of polar stations on the Arctic coast was created in parallel. The winterers of the North Pole-27 and the North Pole-28 are now continuing their work.

The results of many year-long experiments show that the environment in Arctic regions is exceedingly vulnerable, said Korotkevich. Consequences of polution of the environment call for broad joint actions of all Arctic area countries. In Murmansk last autumn, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a number of topical proposals on international cooperation in the Arctic regions. The international scientific programme "the Baltic" can serve as an example of cooperation of northern countries, the Leningrad polar explorer believes. Seven coastal countries are carrying out comprehensive Baltic Sea exploration in accordance with its coordinated plans. Generalised results will become the foundation of an ecological model for the protection and rational use of the water basin.

The near-future prospect of international cooperation is formation of international drifting stations in the western sector of the Arctic regions, most liable to industrial contamination, Yevgeniy Korotkevich believes. Projects of sanitary posts with the participation of representatives of Norway and Sweden are being drawn up in Leningrad. Exploration of Arctic seas is planned on a bilateral basis with Scandinavian countries.

Helsinki Baltic Marine Environment Session Held

LD271439 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] In Helsinki on Friday a regular session of the Baltic Marine Environment Protection Commission began. Attending it are ministers from the Governments of the GDR, Denmark, Poland, the Soviet Union, Finland, the FRG, and Sweden. On the first day of the session, the ministers signed important documents—a declaration on the protection of the marine environment in the Baltic Sea area and recommendations to their governments on reducing Baltic pollution.

United States & Canada

Reagan Departs for Brussels NATO Summit

LD011536 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 1 TASS—President Ronald Reagan flew to Brussels today for an extraordinary NATO summit there on March 2 and 3.

Speaking before his departure at the White House, he stressed the special significance of the forthcoming meeting which will be the first reunion of all leaders of the NATO nations in six years.

Reagan said those years had seen many events, including the signature of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. He said it was a historic agreement, one to be proud of, as it would remove a whole class of nuclear arms.

The President repeated that he was going to press for 50-percent cuts in U.S. and Soviet arsenals of strategic weapons.

He stressed at the same time that one of the priority goals of the Brussels meeting would be to bolster the "strong partnership" between the United States and its West European NATO allies and back "positions of strength" policies.

Carlucci Remarks on MX Missiles Cited

LD020847 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 2 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci again upheld the need to deploy 100 MX first-strike intercontinental ballistic missiles which are refered to as "Peacekeepers" by Washington.

Speaking on Tuesday at hearings in the Budget Committee of the House of Representatives discussing the administration's request for military expenditures for the 1989 fiscal year, he said 34 out of 50 MX missiles the deployment of which was sanctioned by the Congress have already been stationed in U.S. silos.

Mr Carlucci emphasized that the Reagan administration would seek congressional approval of appropriations to phase in another 50 MX missiles which would be deployed on railway flat cars.

He said such a step would make it possible to bring the aggregate number of deployed nuclear warheads on MX missiles, which are of enhanced accuracy and great destructive power, up to 1,000.

Mr Carlucci pointed out that the Pentagon considered it desirable to use the railway-flat-car-basing mode for MX missiles each of which is provided with ten warheads. Such deployment would make them as invulnerable as the Midgetman mobile-based missiles being developed in the United States now.

U.S. SDI Experiment Violates ABM Treaty

LD011515 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 1 TASS—Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative organisation, and Major Andrew Greene, head of the experimental program Delta 181 within the SDI program, have given a press conference in the Pentagon. Their announcement on the holding of an experiment in outer space within the SDI framework on February 8 has been evidence of violation by Washington of the ABM Treaty.

A. Greene has, as a matter of fact, admitted the fact of the testing by the United States of an element of antiballistic missile defense in outer space in describing the experiment when a 3,000 kg payload including miscellaneous equipment, in particular, a laser direction finder was put into a near-earth orbit with a Delta rocket. The laser direction finder was put into outer space for the first time and its trials have been a success, he said. Fourteen test objects separated from the payload in outer space. They were observed by means of instruments. Observations were also carried out of a rocket specially launched from the earth. The objective of the experiment is to get data about the radiation of objects so as to have an opportunity to detect enemy missiles and warheads and tell them from dummy targets. Meanwhile, one of the articles of the ABM Treaty says that each of the sides commits itself not to create, not to test and not to deploy sea, air, space or mobile ground-based systems or their components." [quotation mark as received]

All this is indicative that from a concept of "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty, which is even without that contrary to the letter and spirit of the ABM Treaty, the Pentagon is going over to a unilateral violation of that most important agreement, on whose strict observance, as prominent experts, including American ones, say, the success of the talks on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons depends.

Sen. Byrd Hints at INF, Afghan Pullout Link

LD012032 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1551 GMT 1 Mar 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] Another report connected with the Afghan issue: The U.S. Senate, by a majority of 77, has approved a resolution calling on the U.S. Administration not to halt support for the antigovernment armed groups until the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The resolution also includes the demand that the amount of funding not be cut. Last year $600 million was earmarked for these goals. This document is not binding, but its authors are clearly trying to upset the process of the Senate committees' discussion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The leader of the Senate Democratic majority hinted quite openly that the continuation of aid to the Afghan resistance is linked to the prospects for the ratification of the INF Treaty.

Incidentally, this time, Byrd contradicted his own statements made at the start of last December. At that time he expressed cautious optimism and predicted that in early March of this year the Soviet-U.S. agreement would be sent to the Senate for ratification. Now, judging by Byrd's pronouncements, new obstacles are getting in the way of ratification. So, it turns out that the authors of the resolution are not just trying to put pressure on the administration on this particular issue, but are essentially trying to torpedo a settlement around Afghanistan. They are interfering in the internal affairs of that country, demanding that elections be held there and a regime be set up in Kabul that is acceptable to the antigovernment groups. Strange as it may seem, the U.S. legislators are insisting on a halt to all forms of Soviet aid to the Republic of Afghanistan and are trying to dictate their will both to the Soviet Union and to the legitimate Government of Afghanistan.

U.S. 'Hawks' Link Afghan Talks, INF Accord

LD011507 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 1 Mar 88

["Afghanistan—What Do U.S. "Hawks" Want?"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—By TASS Commentator Valeriy Vavilov:

U.S. "hawks" have taken alarm: The initiatives of the Soviet and Afghan Governments have paved a real way to an early peace settlement of the military conflict in Afghanistan and the INF Treaty signed in Washington leads to scaling down confrontation and building a nuclear-free world in the foreseeable future.

Such prospects are obviously not in the "hawks" ' plans and they are out to scuttle the nascent process of improvement in the international situation and in Soviet-American relations.

This is the only explanation there can be for the fact that the "hawks" have influenced the Senate ahead of Afghan-Pakistani peace settlement talks in Geneva into passing a "sense of the Senate" resolution which said that the United States "should not cease, suspend, diminish or otherwise restrict assistance to the Afghan resistance...until it is absolutely clear that the Soviets have terminated their military occupation" and the Afghan rebel force is "well enough equipped to maintain its integrity" during a transition leading to new elections.

Brushing aside all previous Geneva accords, in accordance with which the United States is duty-bound to cut off all military aid to the rebels within 60 days after the signing of an agreement and the start of the Soviet troops' withdrawal, Senator Robert Byrd, the most committed advocate of the Afghan rebels, declared, THE WASHINGTON POST reported, that he intends to press for continued aid to them even if the USSR and the United States reach agreement on its cessation.

Moreover, Byrd "links" the Geneva agreement on an Afghan settlement directly with the INF Treaty's ratification by U.S. Congress. He threatened bluntly, the UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported, that the Senate will not begin deliberating the treaty until the administration gives assurances that the aid to the rebels will not be terminated ahead of time.

Plainly, both the resolution urging no end to the aid to the rebels and the persistant linkage of the Geneva agreements with the ratification of the INF Treaty attest to the fact that certain quarters in Washington are not at all interested in defusing international tension, settling regional conflicts, including the Afghan one, which is among the graver and more painful such conflicts, and creating a world in which humanity will not be facing the sword of Damocles meaning global catastrophe.

Lawyer Comments on 12 February Warships Incident

PM021015 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Major General of Justice (Retired) and RSFSR Honored Lawyer P. Barabolya article under the rubric: "At the Readers' Request": "This Was an Obvious Provocation"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Letters continue to arrive in the editorial office in connection with the U.S. ships' excursion [zakhod] into our territorial waters. Readers ask us to give an assessment of this incident from the viewpoint of the international Law of the Sea—for U.S. seamen have made reference to the latter.

Thus, 12 February the "Yorktown" and the "Caron," bristling with modern reconnaissance equipment, came through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and headed straight for the Sevastopol area.

Soviet warships repeatedly warned the Americans that their course was leading into Soviet territorial waters. But, presumably, the commanders of the U.S. ships were being instructed accordingly because they gave a single response to all the warnings: "Signal understood, but I am exercising my right of innocent [mirnyy] passage."

As a participant in the 3d UN Conference on the Law of the Sea who—together with other Soviet delegation members and also with delegations from many foreign states, including the United States, tackled the elaboration of norms concerning the right of innocent passage, it is quite clear to me that what we have here is a typical distortion of this concept.

Let us see how the right of innocent passage is regarded.

In the course of the 3d UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, most states agreed to acknowledge warships' right to innocent passage through territorial waters without entering internal waters and ports provided that more light be shed on the concepts of "innocent passage" and "passage which is not innocent" [nemirnyy prokhod]. Therefore a special section on "passage which is not innocent" was included in the appropriate article of the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. In accordance with the terms of this section, the passage of a foreign vessel is deemed to be prejudicial to the peace, good order, or security of the coastal state if in the territorial waters it engages in activities such as "the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity, or political independence of the coastal state or in any other manner in violation of the principles of international law embodied in the Charter of the United Nations"; any exercise or practice with weapons of any kind; any act aimed at collecting information to the prejudice of the defense or security of the coastal state; or any act of propaganda, aimed at affecting the defense or security of the coastal state. This section also indicates other actions such as launching aircraft, carrying out research, and so on.

If we analyze the U.S. ships' actions, then we can conclude that typical "passage which is not innocent" occurred here, since the U.S. ships were carrying out reconnaissance work in the region of the southern shore of the Crimea, they were conducting none other than a military demonstration and performing a threat of force, and they violated our country's good order and security. They also violated USSR legislation regarding the procedure for exercising innocent passage. After all, the 1982 convention grants the coastal state the right to issue laws and regulations regarding innocent passage through its territorial waters. If these are violated then the coastal state may require immediate withdrawal from its territorial waters.

In this particular instance, the question arises: What happens if the ship is reluctant to obey demands of this kind? Is international practice aware of such examples?

On the one hand, we can find the answer to this in the convention itself. It points out that the flag state bears international responsibility for any loss or damage to the coastal state resulting from the noncompliance by any warship with the laws and regulations of the coastal state concerning passage through its territorial waters or noncompliance with the convention's provisions or other rules of international law.

On the other hand, a warship's special status and immunity give it heightened responsibility for noncompliance with the rules of international law and coastal states' national legislation when passing through territorial waters. Cases are well-known in international practice whereby most extreme measures were applied to violating ships.

I must also point out that the United States itself has frequently adopted extremely harsh laws with regard to violator vessels.

One can see from what has been said that under international norms the right of warships' innocent passage through coastal states' territorial waters is strictly regulated and such passage can only occur in those areas where there exist the traditional shortest shipping routes leading to the ports of other states, or in the approaches to straits and also where there exist routes and sea corridors which are specifically designated by the coastal state.

Even so, it is important to point out that the provisions of the 1982 convention regarding innocent passage for foreign vessels, including warships, through Soviet territorial waters were reflected in the Law on the USSR's State Border adopted 24 November 1982 and also in the Foreign Warships' Rights of Navigation and Sojourn in the USSR's Territorial Waters (Territorial Sea) and the USSR's Internal Waters and Ports. These regulations have been published on several occasions, including in the "Instructions to Mariners," which the USSR exchanges with most countries of the world, not excluding the United States.

The provisions in the regulation regarding the fact that a foreign warship which ignores any demand addressed to it regarding compliance with the USSR's laws and regulations can be ordered forthwith to leave the USSR's territorial waters deserve particular attention. Consequently the United States' attempt to regard innocent passage as some kind of nonregulated absolute with unlimited rights for warships is an absurdity and it contravenes not only the history of the formation and development of this principle of the international law of the sea—which principle was accorded the most excellent epithet of "peaceful"—but also contravenes current practice.

Therefore, the Soviet warships had no choice but to maneuver in such a way as to try to force out of Soviet territorial waters the U.S. ships which had penetrated almost 4 nautical miles into our territorial waters and which refused to leave even after repeated warnings. The fact that Soviet and U.S. ships were damaged during these operations considerably increases the U.S. side's culpability and responsibility.

By and large, if we examine the U.S. ships' activity and their behavior in Soviet waters, we can conclude that certain U.S. circles do not like the improvement in USSR-U.S. relations and the possibility of the ratification in the immediate future of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington last year. It has frequently happened that as soon as light appears at the end of the tunnel in the two countries' relations, U.S. reactionary forces upholding the "cold war" concept seek any pretext to worsen relations and wreck accords. If there are no pretexts at a given moment, they can be... organized. The incident by the shores of the Crimea is obvious confirmation of this.

Red Tape Hampers Business Ties With U.S.

PM011029 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian on 20 February 1988 carries on page 11 under the headline "Seven Lost Years... On Standards of Business Relations and Wasted Billions" a 2,500-word article under the "Raising a Problem" rubric by E. Cheporov, NOVOSTI and SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent, who writes from New York. The article opens by quoting the complaints of an executive from the U.S. feed company Merman Manufacturing about Soviet shortcomings in business dealings with his company, specifically the RSFSR Gosagroprom's inability to answer correspondence on time, if at all, and its failure to complete a deal proposed by the company over 7 years ago which would be of great benefit to the Soviet side. Cheporov quotes other examples to show how "mutually beneficial" trade opportunities are being lost through Soviet official red tape. He also quotes U.S. "skeptics" who see a "deep-rooted" resistance to reforms in the USSR, particularly in agriculture, a resistance which may ultimately prevent changes taking place there, they feel. Cheporov sees this as a persistence of "cold war thinking" in the United States. He concludes:

"I asked the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC), the intermediary between Soviet foreign trade organizations and U.S. companies and banks, to comment on these facts. The council's task, according to its program, is to 'support mutual interest and business cooperation between the USSR and the United States.' The improvement of relations between our countries, ASTEC told me, has lent impetus to the development and deepening of trade between the U.S. business world and Soviet organizations. The interests of the restructuring of the Soviet economy, ASTEC also believes, require from us a proper standard of business relations. The situation in which Merman Manufacturing found itself is by no means the exception. The Ministry of the Electronics Industry, Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, and other departments have shown a similar style in their dealings with their partners.

"'I believe that in addition to other colossal tasks, restructuring must also solve the problem of the acquisition by Soviet managers of the qualities necessary for successful participation in the complex process of world trade,' ASTEC president and prominent U.S. businessman Jim Giffen said. 'It is also necessary, in my view, to simplify the very mechanism of concluding deals. Every U.S. company which signs an agreement these days has to deal with 10-15 of your institutions. It only takes one link to fail for the whole chain to break. For trade between the USSR and the United States to develop we Americans need the firm confidence that our joint ventures will be profitable. We cannot work blindly. Unpredictability—that is what must be removed from the system of our relations.'

"'ASTEC promotes cooperation beneficial to Soviet organizations and U.S. companies,' Dmitriy Solovykh, first deputy president of ASTEC, believes. 'The fact that the deal with Merman has still not taken place is a loss both to the Americans and to us. Therefore Merman's bewilderment is absolutely justified. But is it the only company thus affected? It is generally recognized that the creation of joint enterprises is a progressive matter. But there have already been occasions when U.S. firms, negotiating on the establishment of such enterprises, run into the iceberg of economic inertia. For example, a firm calculates that an enterprise needs 20 people for rational work whereas the Soviet partner demands 60. The arguments about the increase in the cost price are countered by the reasoning—'the price level does not influence sales.' Here is another example. One U.S. firm tried to convince the Ministry of the Chemical Industry that when designing new facilities for the production of polypropylene, capacities had to be increased by 50-60 percent because there is a demand for this particular polymer and it could be exported successfully. For a long time the firm simply received no reply. We have to bear in mind that U.S. companies operate in a tight competitive framework and therefore cannot permit themselves the luxury of slow decisionmaking. The situation in which the main link of commodity production relations is the sale of output must be the natural state of things for our industry. The production of goods costs money, and sales are the way to cover that expenditure and make a profit. U.S. companies are responding increasingly actively to proposals for mutually beneficial cooperation. It is important not to stifle this glimmer of interest with bureaucratic red tape, as exemplified by the incident with Merman Manufacturing."

China

Zhao: Sino-Soviet Summit Conditions 'Not Ripe'

OW291255 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said that there has been smooth development in economic and cultural ties between China and the Soviet Union over the past few years. In an interview with an ASAHI SHIMBUN reporter, he pointed out: The border talks between the two countries have been conducted in a favorable atmosphere.

Meanwhile, when answering a question on the possibility of a Sino-Soviet summit, Zhao Ziyang said that, in his view, conditions were not ripe for holding such a summit.

Destruction of Soviet Asia-Based Missiles Hailed

OW020748 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Station reporter's interview with (Chenmenka), vice chairman of Social, Financial and Economic Committee of Soviet Committee in Defense of Peace—date and place not given; live or recorded]

[Excerpts] (Chenmenka) said: Over a long period of time, the Soviet Union has believed that the question of missiles in Asia can be solved in the wake of cutting and eliminating intermediate-range guided missiles in Europe. Recently, we changed our point of view. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed by the Soviet Union today is on a global scale. In other words, the treaty not only covers guided missiles in Europe but also considers guided missiles in Asia. Why does the Soviet Union adopt such a step? This is mainly because the Soviet Union struggles for cutting and eliminating all nuclear weapons, no matter which categories they belong to or where they are deployed. For safety's sake, the faster the nuclear weapons are eliminated, the better it will be. This is what we intend to do. The fewer nuclear weapons in existence, the greater will be our guarantee of safety. This is a law which brooks no doubt. [passage omitted]

According to the treaty, the Soviet Union's step to eliminate its intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Asia is actually unilateral. I believe that foreign listeners will speak highly of this step, through which they will see the crystallization of the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy. This is a far cry from the allegations of the West and Japan, which attempt to use their nuclear weapons to intimidate the people of all countries in the Far East. Our stand is just the opposite. The unilateral elimination of our guided missiles will obviously help consolidate security in the Far East, the Asian-Pacific region and the world as a whole. [passage omitted]

Similarity of Soviet, Chinese Policies Noted

OW261221 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Leonidov commentary: "Our Major Policies Tally With Each Other"]

[Text] Dear Chinese listeners: The Soviet People have happily learned that the latest issue of the Chinese magazine SHIJIE ZHISHI [World Knowledge] published the excerpts of Comrade Gorbachev's book on the significance of reform and the new political thinking for the Soviet Union and the world. I wish to tell all of you that, not long before that, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's collective works on contemporary problems of China were published in the Soviet Union. I feel that introducing to the Chinese people the Soviet leader's important exposition on reform and the new political thinking will deepen the mutual understanding between the people of the two countries. On the other hand, I can testify that publication in the Soviet Union of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's works on contemporary problems of China has greatly enhanced the Soviet people's understanding of China's major social, economic, and political policies. I would like now to present to you a commentary by this station's observer Leonidov, entitled: "Our Major Policies Tally With Each Other."

As many people in the Soviet Union and China know very well, the people of our two countries, under the leadership of our respective Communist Parties, have carried out very similar domestic tasks. The important social and political goals of both the Soviet Union and China are to convincingly demonstrate the superiority of socialism, to qualitatively improve production relations, and to create the most favorable conditions possible based on socialism.

Of course, the two countries have their own historical and national characteristics, but these can never stop the major trend. Both our countries and people hope to learn from each other's experience and broaden the scope of cooperation. I think that publishing in the Soviet Union Comrade Deng Xiaoping's collective works on contemporary problems of China and the publication of excerpts of Comrade Gorbachev's book in a Chinese magazine will greatly speed up the process of learning from each other, exchanging experience, and developing cooperation in various fields between the two countries.

I also think that it is necessary to point out the many common points in the two countries' foreign policy. Preventing nuclear wars, prohibiting the militarization of space, ensuring favorable objective conditions for maintaining peace and economic development, and establishing stable relations with countries of different social systems on the principle of peaceful coexistence are major goals of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and China. The two countries have always supported other nations' specific proposals on establishing nuclear-free zones, and also advocate settling all regional conflicts through peaceful and political means.

Undeniably, the two countries differ relatively more in their attitudes on the issues of Cambodia and Aghanistan. However, these differences will not hamper the development of the major trend. Ultimately, both our countries hope to settle conflicts and defuse crises in the Asia-Pacific Region and other areas.

Dear listeners, let us hope that the two largest socialist countries will play a decisive role in world development. The more the two countries understand each other and the closer they cooperate with each other, the more they will contribute to maintaining peace and progress of society.

Dmitriyev Comments on Progress in Relations

On Bilateral Economic Planning

OW011315 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Dmitriyev commentary; from the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union and China have accumulated much experience in cooperation in economic planning. [passage omitted]

At present both the Soviet Union and China are both striving to perfect socialism and are engaged in tapping their respective potentials. As they both embark on social and economic reforms, exchange of work experience between the two countries' economic planning departments has special significance. [passage omitted)

There is a good chance now for the conclusion of a long-term agreement and plan to develop the two countries' economic relations. For example, the 10-year Soviet-Chinese Economic and Technological Cooperation Agreement, the Commodity Exchange and Payment Agreement, and the 5-Year Agreement on Building and Renovating China's Industrial Enterprises have been smoothly implemented. Economic planning enables the two countries to continue their promising cooperation with confidence and helps coordinate work in the respective economic planning departments. As everyone knows, the Soviet Union and China signed an agreement in Beijing in September 1986 on cooperation between both countries' state planning commissions. A decision was reached last May to establish a permanent work group to handle cooperation between the two countries'economic planning organs. In January this year, the work group held its first meeting in Beijing.

In addition, the Soviet Union and China started exchanging visits of economists and delegations of the two countries' state planning commissions. A Chinese delegation recently visited the Soviet Union. One of the delegation members was Professor (Tang Chuan), a noted economist and deputy director of the planned economy institute under China's State Planning Commission. Chinese experts inquired after our experience in economic construction and reform, obtained first-hand knowledge of the work of Soviet state planning commission and research institutes, and talked with Soviet colleagues on developing future cooperation. Professor (Tang Chuan) talked with pleasure about his impressions of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

On Increased Trade

OW011355 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Dmitriyev commentary, from the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Excerpts] Comrade Dmitriyev said: Our oblast borders on China, sharing some 1,000 kilometers of common border with it. People in the Baykal areas are pleased with the recent marked improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. This is reflected in the yearly increase in the flow of inbound and outbound goods at the Baykalsk border station. Increased goods exchanges and increasing trade volume between the two countries are reliable indicators of improved relations between the two countries. A discussion is now under way on China taking part in the expansion of the Baykalsk railway station. The expansion, once completed, will lead to further growth of goods transport between the two countries. We have established friendly, regular, and professional relations with Chinese railway workers at the Baykalsk railway station.

Dmitriyev continues: In addition, I would like to point out that we strive to establish links between Chita Oblast and China's Nei Monggol. Cooperatives in Chita Oblast are now trading with rural enterprises in Nei Monggol. The trade volume has increased manifold in recent years. Delegations from both sides hold regular meetings to discuss railway transport, trade development, and other problems. The Chita branch of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society wants to contribute to the development and deepening of relations between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Comrade Dmitriyev continues: I am pleased to point out that in the past 4 years we have kept in touch with both the (Manzhouli) and Nei Monggol branches of the China-USSR Friendship Association. We have exchanged visits of delegations. In 1987, a delegation of China's Nei Monggol took part in celebration activities of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Members of this delegation visited enterprises, collective and state farms, and schools, and met with laborers in our oblast.

Dmitriyev concludes: Contacts help mutual understanding among people. That is why we consider the expansion and deepening of contacts with Chinese organizations, which is beneficial to the common undertaking of socialism and peace, as one of our serious obligations.

Soviets To Expand Ties With Asia-Pacific Region

OW010617 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1500 GMT 28 Feb 88

[(Kuchin) commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, made a speech in Budapest a few days ago, reiterating that the Soviet Union would resolutely develop relations with Asian and Pacific nations. In this connection, station observer (Kuchin) writes:

The relationship of interdependence between countries has urged the Soviet Union to adopt a new attitude to evaluate this fact: The Soviet Union itself is a large country in Asia. It has constructively developed its relations with Asian countries in the past. However, it recently adopted a more East-oriented policy. As we all know, many political proposals by Soviet leader Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech and in his interviews with reporters of the Indonesian paper INDEPENDENCE and Chinese magazine LIAOWANG can fundamentally improve the situation in the Asian and Pacific region.

The Soviet Union does not mean to regard these proposals as the ultimate conclusion. We call on other countries to conduct all-around dialogue, so that a foundation for debate can be laid. We also call on all Asian nations to join discussions to reach a conclusion. The Soviet Union believes one of the most important tasks is to mediate conflicts in Asia. [Passage omitted]

The Soviet Union also resolutely strengthen its relations with Asian nations. We have developed traditional friendly relations with India. Our solidarity with Indochinese countries is increasingly consolidated day by day. Recently, our ties with the ASEAN countries, particularly Indonesia and Thailand, were markedly strengthened.

The Soviet people feel satisfied that, over the past several years, relations in all fields between the Soviet Union and China have developed rapidly. The Soviet Union's current policy on Asia is striving to make a genuine breakthrough in handling the question of Asia as a whole, and in developing bilateral relations with Asian countries, above all, in developing Soviet-Chinese ties.

Further Report

OW011111 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 29 Feb 88

[(Kuchin) commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, reaffirmed several days ago in Budapest that the Soviet Union will firmly develop relations with Asia-Pacific countries. Station observer (Kuchin) writes in this connection:

New thinking has led to the realization of the interdependent relations existing between various countries, leading the Soviet Union to reevaluate the following fact with a new attitude, namely, that the Soviet Union is also a big Asian country. In the past we pursued constructive relations with other Asian countries. Recent Soviet policy has shown a more active tilt toward the East. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union is firmly determined to strengthen relations with Asian countries. [pasage omitted]

What pleases the Soviet people is that they have witnessed in the past few years the rapid development of relations between the Soviet Union and China. Current Soviet Asian policy is to seek a genuine and big breakthrough in solving problems in Asia and developing bilateral relations with Asian countries. In this connection, developing relations with China is, among all things, of prime importance.

RSFSR Trade Minister on Trade Cooperation

OW280419 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] In recent years, Soviet-Chinese trade relations have developed vigorously. They have become an important element in improving relations between the two countries and have promoted and expanded cooperation in other fields. Today, the amount of Soviet-Chinese trade has reached 1.8 billion rubles, a 30-percent increase over the previous year. However, according to experts, the amount is still a far cry from the potential trade level the two countries could reach. Although we can find great potential and new approaches in the dynamic development of many undertakings, especially trade, we still must take the initiative to develop them. In this regard, we must not only depend on traditional forms of trade, but also seek new approaches in cooperation. What is more, now is the right time to seek such approaches.

At present, the Soviet Union and China are implementing economic structural reform, in which decisionmaking and managerial authority of the enterprises, offices, departments, and various localities engaged in foreign trade have been noticeably expanded.

Comrade Shimanskiy, the RSFSR minister of trade, talked with a station reporter on the possible ways of doing business under the new economic conditions. He said: At present, Soviet companies have been adequately authorized to engage in foreign trade. Such trade is going on according to the theory of equilibrium, that is to say, we supply commodities to our partners in exchange for their commodities of the same value without resorting to the use of currency. In other words, we are engaging in barter trade. For example, our market is glutted with various brands of refrigerators, while China has a great demand for refrigerators. Thus, it is possible for us to exchange Soviet-made refrigerators for Chinese-made commodities. The barter trade is beneficial to both consumers and traders and helps expedite the circulation of funds and commodities.

RSFSR Minister of Trade Shimanskiy added: At present, the Soviet Union engages in comprehensive direct barter trade with Poland, the GDR, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Mongolia, and Vietnam.

When the reporter asked if recent negotiations with personnel of the Chinese Ministry of Commerce aimed at establishing such cooperation, Minister Shimanskiy replied: Yes, our visit to China was aimed at establishing such direct barter trade. We suggested that the RSFSR's border authorities, autonomous republics, and states establish direct barter trade relations with some provinces and cities in central China; that is, the Soviet Union will establish direct contacts with China's major department stores, wholesale centers, and enterprise groups. We held that there are broad prospects for developing such cooperation in Soviet-Chinese trade relations. We also suggested that our Chinese counterparts begin to develop other forms of cooperation of mutual benefit, such as the establishment of joint ventures. Catering trade is an example. We can establish Chinese restaurants in the RSFSR and Russian restaurants in Chinese cities. We can also establish joint ventures which produce commercial and industrial equipment. Basically, we discussed various forms of contacts. We will continue to discuss these issues when a delegation of the Chinese Ministry of Commerce visits the Soviet Union in the near future.

In conclusion, Shimanskiy said: I have been to China twice. The first visit was in 1960 when I went with a Soviet delegation to participate in celebrations marking China's 11th founding anniversary. Therefore, I was able to compare what I had seen on my previous visit with what I saw on my recent visit. China's cities have become more beautiful; its people's living conditions have improved; many fine products made by Chinese factories and enterprises are displayed in shops. We feel joy and satisfaction over such achievements attained by the great Chinese people. No doubt, China has become a potential trade partner. We think that further development of Soviet-Chinese trade relations will be beneficial to both countries.

Soviets, Chinese To Open Joint Restaurants

LD012112 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Restaurant Peking (Beijing) situated in the centre of Moscow will be the first Soviet-Chinese joint venture. The protocol to this effect were signed today during negotiations which started last November during a visit to China of Moscow's Mayor Valeriy Saikin and which have ended in Moscow.

Vladimir Malyshkov, head of the Moscow public catering board, has told TASS that from 25 to 30 Chinese cooks, past masters in the matchless Chinese cuisine, will work in the recently renovated Peking Restaurant together with their Soviet colleagues.

Malyshkov said that the Soviet side would own no less than 51 percent of the joint capital, while the Chinese side 49 percent. All profits will be distributed in the same proportion. Two of the resaturant's halls will work on convertible currency, the other two—on Soviet roubles. Along with preparing national dishes, the Chinese side will organize trade in national souvenirs and goods.

Song Jifu, deputy general director of the "Beijing" hotel complex in Beijing, said that the joint restaurant would be opened in Moscow already this year and added that the creation of Resaturant Moskva (Moscow) on the same mutually beneficial basis in Beijing would be the second stage in the Soviet-Chinese cooperation in the field of joint ventures.

Restaurant Moscow will acquaint the Chinese with the famous Russian cuisine.

These are the first steps in this new form of economic cooperation between the two countries. It holds out big promise, Jifu said in conclusion.

Moscow Soiree Marks Chinese New Year

PM291041 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On Festive Occasion"]

[Text] The Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, the All-Union Association of Sinologists, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute held a concert on 15 February in Moscow to celebrate the Chinese lunar new year holiday, "Chunjie."

Li Fenglin, PRC counselor-envoy in the USSR, Chinese trainees, and postgraduate students studying in Moscow VUZ's took part in the soiree.

Soviet Public Marks Chou Enlai Birth Anniversary

LD012118 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—A Soviet public meeting was held in Moscow today to mark the 90th birth anniversary of the noted statesman and party figure of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai. The meeting was attended by Ambassador of the People's Republic of China in the USSR Yu Hongliang and Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev.

Chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, Academician Sergey Tikhvinskiy dwelt on Zhou Enlai's role in the rise and the development of the People's Republic of China, Soviet-Chinese relations. Speeches at the meeting were made by Soviet specialists who worked in the People's Republic of China and who personally knew Zhou Enlai.

"All of us felt profound respect for Comrade Zhou Enlai, our country's real friend", said former head of a group of Soviet specialists in China, member of the CPSU Central Committee Ivan Arkhipov.

Gerasimov Meets Senior Officials in Tokyo

OW270921 Tokyo KYODO in English 0903 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Tokyo, Feb. 27 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov talked with senior Japanese Foreign Ministry officials at the Foreign Ministry Saturday, Japanese officials said.

No political affairs were discussed at the session, the officials said.

Gerasimov is currently on a four-day visit to Japan since Thursday at the invitation of the Japanese mass media.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yoshifumi Matsuda and Kazutoshi Hasegawa, director of the Foreign Ministry's European and Oceanic Affairs Bureau, were among those who talked with Gerasimov, the officials said.

Gorbachev Message to Armenia, Azerbaijan Noted

OW280605 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Since it was reported in Moscow Radio programs already, it is believed that some of you listeners know about it, but General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on 26 February sent a message to Azerbaijani and Armenian workers and people in connection with incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh and related events.

Demonstration marches and rallies have been held lately in this autonomous oblast, which belongs to the Azerbaijan Republic, at which some Armenian residents made speeches calling for transferring the autonomous oblast's jurisdiction to the neighboring Armenian Republic.

There are 49 different races living in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, of which the Armenians are the most numerous. The autonomous oblast was established in 1923 in the territories of the Azerbaijan Republic. In the approximately 65 years since then the autonomous oblast made remarkable socio-economic progress. The present Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast can be called one of the most developed areas in the republic.

Friendly cooperation with the residents of diverse nationalities has also been smooth. However, a majority of the residents in the autonomous oblast are Armenians to the end.

Some Armenians have raised the question of transferring the autonomous oblast to Armenia before. The disturbance surrounding this question has recently escalated. In Stepanakert city, the center of the oblast, handbills, leaflets, and open letters have begun to be circulated, and demonstrations and rallies held. Abetted by some who are seized with nationalist ideas, violations of social order have been induced.

A few days ago the CPSU Central Committee examined reports on the Nagorno-Karabakh incidents and pointed out that behavior or demands calling for a review of the current system of national territories run counter to the interests of the Azerbiajani and Armenian working people and only harm relations among nationalities.

General Secretary Gorbachev sent a message to the Azerbaijani and Armenian working people and all people in connection with the incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and events surrounding them. The message appeals to the citizens to demonstrate discernment and self-control by strengthening the traditional friendship between Azerbaijan and Armenia, which came into being after the birth of the Soviet regime.

The message continues:

In the final analysis, the significance of the Leninist nationalities policy lies in the fact that each nationality can fulfill what it desires in all the areas of social and political life, as well as in its own language, culture, habits and beliefs. Disputes and a lack of confidence among nationalities only obstruct the solution of the problem.

The CPSU is ready to explore the concrete solution of social, economic, cultural and other questions, focusing attention on the nationalities question at home and the development of relations among nationalities, at a venue of its Central Committee plenum to be convened in the days ahead.

This has been CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Gorbachev's message in connection with the incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Shevardnadze Receives Japanese Ambassador

LD011641 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, today received Toshiaki Muto, ambassador of Japan to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

During their meeting, which passed in a businesslike and frank atmosphere, they exchanged opinions on a number of issues related to Soviet-Japanese relations, as well as some pressing international problems.

Muto relayed to Shevardnadze an oral message from Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno.

Visit to Japan 'Possible'

OW020047 Tokyo KYODO in English 0035 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 1 KYODO—Japanese Ambassador to Moscow Toshiaki Muto held talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the Soviet Foreign Ministry here Tuesday.

At the one-hour meeting, Muto conveyed Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno's message in which he expressed hope for Shevardnadze's early visit to Japan for a Japan-Soviet foreign ministerial meeting.

Shevardnadze said his visit to Japan may be possible in the latter half of this year.

Muto met Shevardnadze for the first time after assuming the ambassadorial post last October.

Muto also said the northern territories problem is still pending between Japan and the Soviet Union and the countries have not yet concluded a bilateral peace pact.

Shevardnadze did not directly touch on the issue but said his country will continue political talks with Japan.

Tokyo Supports 'Dangerous' U.S. Nuclear Policy

PM011647 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Yuriy Vdovin "Viewpoint": "Dangerous Course"]

[Text] At Washington's instigation a few years ago, Japan suddenly began actively pushing the subject of Soviet SS-20 intermediate-range missiles in Asia. The press started carrying maps marking the supposed sites of their deployment and the circumferences of their range radiating from them. At every convenient opportunity, Japanese official spokesmen would say that these weapons were targeted on Japan above all and would estimate how many of these missiles and nuclear warheads it would take to paralyze the country's most important industrial centers or to wipe the country right off the face of the earth. They did not stint the black paint, and it turned out to be quite a gloomy picture.

At the time many people perceived this as the start of a new round in the usual campaign, well rehearsed over the years, to intimidate the Japanese with the "growing Soviet threat" in the Far East. The waves of that campaign, which would spread out from time to time, helped justify the accelerated buildup of their own combat might and further strengthening of the military alliance with the United States. The campaign also fanned overtly hostile sentiments regarding the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that, by drawing attention to the Soviet missiles, this time as well Tokyo and Washington were pursuing the same ends. However, there was also one special feature.

In the early eighties, the United States adopted a decision to equip as quickly as possible the U.S. warships and nuclear-powered submarines operating in the Far East and the Pacific, including those based in Japanese ports, with Tomahawk cruise missiles capable of inflicting a nuclear strike over great distances and to station 50 F-16 fighter-bombers earmarked for the same purpose at the Misawa base in the north of Honshu. Thus, a policy was adopted of concentrating a large-scale U.S. sea- and air-based nuclear missile potential in that region and turning Japan into its forward bridgehead. It was the implementation of that policy that gave rise to talk of SS-20's. The subsequent deployment of Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Asia for the purpose of counterbalancing the U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons in the Far East and the Pacific was presented as evidence of the Soviet Union's insidious designs on Japan. Thus, the pretext of the "Soviet military threat" began to work also to justify the country's more active involvement in the U.S. global nuclear plans.

The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, under which the SS-20's in Asia will also be eliminated, is cutting the ground from under the feet of those who intimidated Japan with them. There will be no Soviet intermediate-range missiles in that region. But the Tomahawks on nuclear-powered submarines and other warships and the F-16's at Misawa remain. Why? Because, Tokyo stubbornly maintains, although the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty deserves approval, at the same time it "has not changed the military situation in Asia, which is characterized, in particular, by the buildup of Soviet military might in the Far East."

It had been expected that after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Japanese Government would think seriously about ways to develop its military policy, look differently at the Soviet peace initiatives expounded in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's Vladivostok speech and in his interview with the newspaper MERDEKA, and put forward its own proposals for strengthening peace and ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region. However, the events of recent weeks attest that Tokyo intends not only to continue on its old course but also to make an ever greater contribution to the dangerous U.S. global strategy. This strategy, as ASAHI points out, is aimed at opposing the USSR on a worldwide scale. Now that European and U.S. strategists are revising the "Soviet threat" thesis, it continues, the impression is created that Japan alone, not making adequate efforts to regularize relations with the USSR, is taking the path of increasing military spending and strengthening unity with the United States in the military sphere.

Why is the government of a country that has known from its own experience the terrible force of nuclear weapons clinging so stubbornly to a dangerous policy? Does it really believe in the "Soviet military threat"? Or perhaps it needs it to justify some particular aims, as yet not openly proclaimed? Not only neighboring peoples but also all other peace-loving peoples of the world await Japan's answers to these and other questions.

Japan To Switch to 'Active Defense' Policy
LD291334 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] A secret plan drawn up by the National Defense Agency, which has come into the possession of the newspaper YOMIURI, envisages the creation of a powerful military bastion on Japan's northernmost island, Hokkaido, which is also the closest to Soviet territory. It marks the renunciation of Tokyo's former strategic concepts, and the transition to a so-called active defense. The Japanese military command claims that it is only a matter of warding off an attack from the north, which could, supposedly, take place, say as a result of a crisis in the Near East or Western Europe. But YOMIURI points out that the agency has decided to considerably extend defensive borders, and is speaking of the need to eliminate a hostile threat before an enemy has time to concentrate large forces in the seas adjacent to Japan. In this connection, the main emphasis is on equipping the Japanese Armed Forces with the latest weapons.

Demonstrations Held Against ROK's No Tae-u
LD261902 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 26 Feb 88

["South Korea: New President but Old Policy"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tokyo February 26 TASS—Mass demonstrations which took place in Seoul and many provincial centres of South Korea on Thursday in protest against the advent to power of new President No Tae-u indicate, analysts point out, that political instability is keeping on there.

In a speech following the swearing-in ceremony retired General No Tae-u who became the thirteenth head of the Seoul regime promised "to give start to democracy".

When he was delivering the speech, thousands of students, workers and representatives of other sections of the population who gathered in downtown Seoul outside the cathedral were demanding truly democratic transformations and guarantees of the observance of human rights, and not just declarative promises.

The local press paid attention to the fact that many officials who stood close to the head of the former regime, Chun Tu-hwan, retained the key positions under the new president as well, although No Tae-u did promise "to do away with authoritarian rule".

The fact that the Ministries of the Interior and Justice are still headed by the same persons as before indicates that no radical reforms in the judicial-police agencies should be expected. The more than 120,000-strong police corps will remain, as before, an instrument of the policy of suppressing civil rights.

It appears that No Tae-u intends to keep intact the National Security Agency which is often referred to as the South Korean CIA. It engaged not only in espionage and sabotage activities but also conducts spying inside South Korea on all those whom the regime suspects of 'disloyalty'.

The South Korean opposition holds that only a mere "rearrangement of incumbents" was effected in the new cabinet formed by No Tae-u as compared with the previous one.

In his policy statement the new South Korean president declared Seoul's striving for an intra-Korean dialogue. However, Seoul at once turned down the new constructive initiative of Pyongyang which suggested holding a joint meeting of political parties and organizations of the North and South of Korea with a view to achieving national concord and relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula.

No Tae-u Democratization Predictions 'Too Early'
PM290919 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent S. Agafonov report: "South Korea: Sworn In"]

[Text] Tokyo—No Tae-u, the new president of South Korea, who has assumed the reins of government from Chon Tu-hwan, the former occupant of the presidential residence, was sworn in in Seoul 25 February.

No Tae-u is the first head of state to come to power here without a military coup. It will be recalled that the South Korean presidential elections were held last December. No Tae-u won after polling only slightly over 30 percent of the votes. The other votes were divided almost equally between the two leading representatives of the opposition camp, who could not overcome their differences and thus paved the way for No Tae-u, the candidate of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, to enter the Blue House.

The new president, who 7 years ago wore the uniform of a four-star general, announced in his inaugural address the beginning of a "new era of prosperity" for South Korea which will be marked, in his words, by the establishment of democracy and freedom and increased well-being. "The time when freedom and human rights could be flouted in the name of national security has passed. The period in which torture and repression were tolerated is over," No Tae-u stated in his address to an audience of 24,000 on the National Assembly lawn.

News agencies report that there were mass protests in South Korea the day before the inauguration.

The first session of No Tae-u's cabinet is due this Friday. Yi Hyon-Chae, former president of Seoul University, has been appointed prime minister. The agenda of the meeting includes a discussion of questions related to the large-scale amnesty planned for 1 March under which more than 7,000 people will be released, including 1,260 political prisoners.

When setting out all these facts the question that the mass media ask most often is: Will there be real movement toward the democratization of domestic political life in South Korea, or will the new administration not limit itself to purely cosmetic measures? It is too early to say yet.

As for former President Chon Tu-hwan, who occupied the Blue House for 7 years after a successful military coup and the bloody repression of the people at Kwangju, he has been received a new post—chairman of the newly formed "consultative council on questions of state policy"—from No Tae-u, whom he knew at military academy. The functions of this organ are as yet unclear.

Near East & South Asia

Gulf War Escalation Received With 'Alarm'

LD021230 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The world has lately witnessed sharp aggravation of the Iran-Iraq war. Iraq's military command announced on Tuesday that Iran dealt two missile strikes at Baghdad on March 1. In retaliation, Iraq fired missiles at Tehran.

A spokesman for the Iraqi command said also that Iraqi aircraft bombed the Iranian towns of Qazvin and Rasht.

The strikes caused widespread destruction and civilian casualties in Baghdad and Tehran, according to news agencies.

The news of another flare-up of hostilities in the eight-year fratricidal war between the two Moslem countries has been received with profound alarm in the Soviet Union.

The continuing Iran-Iraq conflict is bringing more calamities and suffering to the peoples in the two countries.

It is believed in Moscow's diplomatic community that the latest flare-up of hostilities only confirm the need for greater political efforts with a view to ending the war and transferring the conflict into the channel of political solutions. There is necessary groundwork for that—Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council. Moreover, there is a mechanism of political settlement—the mediation mission assigned to the U.N. secretary-general by the Security Council.

The positions of Iran and Iraq are still far apart. At the same time, one would like to hope that all arguments in favour of continuing the war would be discarded and the opposing parties would sit down at the negotiating table with a view to finding mutually acceptable solutions to all outstanding problems.

King Husayn Receives Gorbachev Message in UK

LD020748 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0727 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Amman, 2 Mar (TASS)—As the Jordanian information agency PETRA has reported, Jordan's King Husayn ibn Talal, who is currently in London, has received Leonid Zamyatin, ambassador of the USSR in Great Britain. The Soviet ambassador handed the king a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Present at the meeting were Zayd al-Rifa'i, prime minister of Jordan, and Zayd ibn Shakir, commander in chief of Jordan's Armed Forces.

Envoy Delivers Gorbachev Message to Al-Qadhdhafi

LD020743 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0715 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Tripoli, 2 Mar (TASS)—Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, received on Tuesday the special representative of the Soviet leadership, Mikhail Sytenko, who passed on to him a verbal message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Afghanistan. A thorough conversation took place during which various aspects of the Afghan problem were discussed.

Al-Qadhdhafi welcomed the statement by Gorbachev on Afghanistan and expressed support for the efforts being made by the Soviet Union to resolve this protracted problem.

The Libyan leader stated that for its part Libya would in every way possible promote a successful conclusion of the process for the settlement of the Afghan problem, the achievement of national reconciliation, and the setting up of a just peace in Afghanistan taking into consideration the interests of all parties.

Yazkuliyev Delegation Arrives in Tripoli

LD011002 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] A Soviet delegation led by Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived in Tripoli. The delegation is to take part in celebrations to mark the 11th anniversary of the establishment of people's power in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

Further on PDRY's Al-Bid Visit to Moscow

Meets With Ligachev

PM011617 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 29 February Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with A.S. al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP] Central Committee, who is in Moscow for medical treatment.

During the conversation they examined some questions of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY], relations which are developing on the basis of the Soviet-South Yemeni Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation. The mutual desire to further expand and deepen those relations was confirmed.

A.S. al-Bid was told about progress in restructuring Soviet society's social, economic, and spiritual life and the preparation for the 19th all-union party conference, as well as the Soviet leadership's persistent work to reorganize international relations on the basis of broad cooperation and real disarmament.

The YSP Central Committee general secretary described his party's activity in resolving the social and economic tasks facing Democratic Yemen. The Soviet side expressed support for the YSP's efforts aimed at strengthening the PDRY's progressive regime.

The participants in the meeting expressed the conviction that the development of relations between the PDRY and the Yemen Arab Republic on the basis of dialogue and peace serves the two states' interests and promotes the strengthening of stability in the south of the Arabian peninsula.

During an exchange of opinions on the situation in the Near East, it was stressed that the Palestinian population's mass demonstrations against the regime of terror and violence established by Israel on the occupied Arab lands reaffirms with the utmost urgency the need for an immediate move toward a collective search within the framework of a special international conference for ways to achieve a lasting and just settlement in the Near East based on a rational balance of the interests of all the sides involved in the conflict.

Note was also made of the importance of continuing the efforts being made by the world community to end the hostilities between Iran and Iraq and settle disputes by political means in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 598.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Departs Moscow for Home

LD011618 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party who stayed in the Soviet Union to receive medical treatment, today left for home.

Radio Jerusalem Relays 'Voice of Uprising'

PM011153 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Feb 88 Second Edition p 6

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Belyakov: "'We Can't Go On Living Like This'"]

[Excerpts] Rafah-Cairo, February—This radio station cannot be heard in Cairo. But when we were some 70 km from the Israeli border, the words "Radio Jerusalem speaking" could be heard clearly in the automobile. The call sign was followed by a patriotic Palestinian song and a few minutes later the announcer said: "Mass demonstrations took place this morning in Nablus city. The Israeli troops opened fire. Two people were killed and five wounded."

Radio Jerusalem is the voice of the uprising. This Palestinian radio station first started broadcasting 1 January this year and, the Israeli press notes with alarm, its broadcasts have won unusually wide popularity on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. No one knows for sure where it is located or on whose behalf it is broadcasting. It is merely clear that it has many correspondents on the occupied territories. During the uprising Radio Jerusalem has been reporting any event of any importance within 2-3 hours.

The music is interrupted again. "The general strike is in its third day on the Gaza Strip. In response the occupiers have introduced a curfew in Khan Yunis, the Jabalyah refugee camp, and Rafah..."

And here is Rafah itself. The barbed wire, familiar from previous trips, separates the Egyptian part of the city from the Palestinian. Behind it is the Gaza Strip, occupied by Israel. [passage omitted]

There are many Palestinians in the Egyptian part of Rafah. Some 4,484 people, to be precise. They live in the "Canada" refugee camp immediately adjacent to the barbed wire. Before Israel's aggression in June 1967 the barracks of the Canadian contingent of the UN forces were situated here—hence the camp's name. It was cut off from the Palestinian part of Rafah in April 1982, when the border was demarcated under the Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty. Literally every one of "Canada's" 777 Palestinian families has relations on the other side. When the situation permits, they talk with their friends across the barbed wire and ask them about the situation in the city and the fate of their relatives. Today you can shout as much as you want, no one will reply: The curfew is in force... [passage omitted]

"...Radio Jerusalem speaking. PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has said in an interview with the Egyptian newspaper AL-AHRAM that the uprising on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will not cease. It will continue wave after wave until the occupiers leave Palestinian land," issues from the loudspeaker...

The pitch of the Palestinians' struggle is indeed not abating.

Pakistan Tribal Conflict Flares Up

LD021414 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 2 TASS—According to reports reaching here, the situation in the area inhabited by tribes in Pakistan's northwest became sharply aggravated in recent days again.

Members of Turi tribe and other Pashtun tribes in Khurram District began an armed fight there against the troops of the Islamabad regime and Afghan opposition detachments based in Pakistan.

The new flare-up of combat actions was prompted by the Pakistani Government's refusal to meet a number of demands of the tribes, including an end to interference in the affairs of the Pashtuns, and the expulsion of Afghan extremists from the areas inhabited by the tribes.

The BAKHTAR news agency reports, in particular, that a detachment of Turi tribe fired from heavy weapons and attacked a strongpoint of Pakistani regular troops in Sultanai area. In retaliation of the action, the authorities arrested four Pashtun elders and imposed big fines on many authoritative members of the Turi tribe. As a result of the regime's actions, the situation became still more explosive, BAKHTAR points out.

Another report has it that a Pakistani Army lorry, attached to a military depot in Parachinar, was blown up in an area between Hinduana and Khwaja. As a result of the explosion effected by Turi tribe warriors, three Pakistani servicemen were killed and six injured.

In Kharlachi area, a Pashtun detachment blocked the way to an Afghan armed group, led by a certain 'Abdullah, that tried to penetrate the territory of Afghanistan. 'Abdullah and several of his subordinates were killed. The Pashtuns captured a large amount of arms and ammunition as well as two radio stations.

Twenty Afghan extremists were killed and six injured when their motor vehicles struck mines planted by Pashtuns near Baluch and Bazar Bagan villages. A lorry carrying a cargo of arms for anti-government groups in Afghanistan was also blown up. The incident which took place in Teri Mangal area resulted in the death of three people who accompanied the cargo.

Activities Preview Afghan-Pakistani Peace Talks

Wakil Holds News Conference

PM021623 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Afghanistan-Pakistan: To Display a Sense of Responsibility"]

[Text] Geneva, 2 Mar—The Afghan delegation has arrived in Geneva for the positive conclusion of the talks with Pakistan in a spirit of goodwill, 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan and head of the Afghan delegation, declared at a press conference in the Palais des Nations.

The recent statements by President Najibullah of Afghanistan and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, remove all obstacles to signing the Geneva accords. The interested sides must now display a sense of responsibility and duty. The Afghan side does not intend to advance any new demands which could complicate the talks. The inclusion of new aspects, on which certain circles insist, in the agreed accords would run counter to the cause of the speediest resolution of the conflict. We are convinced, 'Abdul Wakil said, that the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan—that is, the resolution of external aspects of the problem—will give an extra boost to the resolution of internal problems, as well as serving as an example in the cause of settling other regional conflicts.

Going on to answer questions, the minister reminded people that the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan advocates the creation of a government of national unity without preliminary conditions and with the involvement of broad political forces and opposition groups in the spirit of the policy of national reconciliation. Here the leaders of the Republic of Afghanistan have already declared that they are prepared to form a coalition government regardless of personal interests and in conformity only with the interests of restoring peace and the Afghan people's well-being. As for the idea of a so-called transitional government, advanced by seven leaders of opposition groupings in Peshawar, it is of an unrealistic nature. Moreover, there are grounds for doubting that its authors express the opinion of other opposition forces, particularly those on Afghan territory.

The head of the Afghan delegation went on to point out that the policy of national reconciliation is yielding tangible fruits. It is meeting with a positive response from a number of opposition groups. More than 40,000 participants in armed actions have now ceased their resistance and agreed to take part in the reconciliation process.

The Afghan Government, 'Abdul Wakil said, can ensure the country's independence and territorial integrity under conditions when external interference in Afghanistan's affairs ceases simultaneously with the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal. Incidentally, he said, this commitment concerns the United States, which under the terms of the Geneva agreements will be one of the guarantors of their observance. The positive conclusion of the Geneva talks, the minister declared, would accord with the aspirations of all who are really interested in restoring peace in this region.

Statement by Noorani Criticized

LD021521 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1317 GMT 2 Mar 88

["Talks in Geneva: A New Delay?"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar (TASS)—TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks on a political settlement has not yet begun, and the head of the Pakistani delegation, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani, has said that in 3 days he will interrupt the dialogue and set off from Geneva for Islamabad in order "to take part in consultations with the leaders of the Afghan opposition."

And so, another delay in the settlement of one of the most serious and painful regional conflicts. And every day of the fratricidal bloodshed brings new victims, new destruction, new misfortunes for the Afghan people.

The position set out by the Pakistani minister at the talks also causes bewilderment: He will insist on the creation of a transitional government in Afghanistan. "Without such a government there will be no possibility of the refugees returning home," he stressed.

Favorable preconditions for a political settlement to the Afghan conflict have now taken shape. The statements by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and by Afghan President Najibullah, which set a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, have dotted the final "i", removing all obstacles on the road to a settlement. And now, when there remains but one step to the signing of documents on a settlement already agreed, Islamabad hastily goes back on its word, advancing new conditions and erecting new obstacles. The previous "key" demands—on a timetable for the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent—have been forgotten. A new condition has been put forward: "The removal of Najibullah and his government", the replacement of the current Afghan Government with a new one which is pleasing to Islamabad and consisting of representatives of the alliance of "the seven"—the opposition groups which have entrenched themselves in Pakistan. Islamabad does not want to sign agreements with the current government, does not want to take account of the fact that this is the country's only legitimate leadership, recognised by the United Nations and the Non-aligned Movement, and maintaining diplomatic relations with more than 80 states, including Pakistan itself.

Isn't it time to throw off all "preliminary conditions" which hamper the completion of the Geneva process? Isn't it time to show political wisdom, new thinking, rsponsibility for the fate of both Afghan and Pakistani citizens? Time doesn't wait. A historic chance has now appeared to put an end to the bloodshed, to eliminate the Afghan crisis. For this it is only necessary to sign the Geneva agreements, and of course, not to interfere in the purely internal affairs of the Afghan people, not to dictate to them what sort of government will run the sovereign state.

Najibullah at Kabul Rally

LD011643 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 1 TASS—Tens of thousands of residents of the Afghan capital converged in the square near the residence of the Republic's president this morning for a rally devoted to the opening of the next stage of the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations in Geneva.

The regular round of the Geneva negotiations, from which the Afghan people await peace, opens tomorrow, President Najibullah of Afghanistan said. We have exerted and continue to exert efforts to settle peacefully the situation around our country and in the country itself. The national reconciliation policy being enacted in Afghanistan was supported by the Afghan people and the majority of the people of the world. In pursuing this policy, we demonstrate the readiness to evaluate events impartially and realistically. Now, we are justified in awaiting from the opposing side a responsible approach.

Our people, Najibullah said, cannot agree to a government to be formed for them abroad. The national reconciliation policy made possible the attainment of mutual understanding and involvement in the administration of the state of all socio-political forces of the country. For instance, the Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly] entrusted the Republic's president with beginning talks with the leaders of the opposition armed detachments operating inside Afghanistan. It is precisely these people, who did not leave the country, that have, first and foremost, the right to participate in the coalition government. But the opposition leaders in Pakistan ignore them.

Dwelling on the issue of refugees, the Afghan leader noted that 120,000 Afghans have already returned in the country from abroad after the course of national reconciliation was proclaimed. Eight thousand of them now represent the people in local state government and administration bodies. Former refugees are offered housing, jobs and the opportunity to study.

Abdurrahim Hatif, chairman of the National Front Central Council, Muhammad Sadeqi, a clergyman, Ma'suma Esmati, chairman of the Women's Council of Afghanistan, and Nasrullah, a former refugee, addressed the participants in the rally. They supported the statements by the leaders of Afghanistan and the USSR on the problems of settlement and expressed unanimously for the need forther to cement and develop the traditional Afghan-Soviet friendship.

Afghan Ambassador Meets Press

LD020239 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] A press conference was held at the Embassy of Afghanistan in Moscow for Soviet and foreign journalists. Our correspondent Vladimir Fadeyev attended it, and I asked him to share his impressions.

[Fadeyev] The latest round of Afghan-Pakistani talks opens in Geneva tomorrow. Naturally, the question of how the talks, which have not yet started, will end is today occupying not only the direct participants, but also many people in various countries. Of course, we are hoping for success and have achieved a lot to get it, together with the Afghan side.

Unfortunately, the behavior of the Pakistani leadership—and some circles in official Washington—on the eve of the forthcoming round of talks gives grounds for doubting that the Pakistani diplomats have come to Geneva with the desire to sign a peace agreement. This was the theme of the press conference held for Soviet and foreign journalists accredited in Moscow by Mohammadolah Safi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR.

Having dealt in detail with the efforts of his country, which for a period of 5 and 1/2 years has been persistently and patiently setting a course for a political settlement at the Geneva talks, the ambassador noted that at the same time Pakistan, with the aid of the United States and its Western allies, has been constantly building up the level of armed interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. At the talks, however, as the basic condition for halting such a policy, Pakistan has raised the demand for the withdrawal of the Soviet limited contingent of troops.

Having stressed that the Governments of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan, striving to promote a successful completion of the Geneva process, have set a concrete date for the start of withdrawal of the Soviet troops on 15 May this year, and a period of 10 months for completion of withdrawal, Mohammadolah Safi said in particular:

[Begin Safi recording in vernacular, fading into Russian translation] Unfortunately, at this important moment, when virtually all the documents for a settlement have been drawn up, they suddenly decided in Islamabad to change the position and refute their previous statements. Now the Pakistani leadership, forgetting that there exists a legal government in Afghanistan, which is a UN member and is recognized by over 80 countries in the world, is demanding the creation of some sort of transitional government with which it would consent to sign an agreement.

In Pakistan they have forgotten that over the past 5 years and more they have been holding talks with the present government. How is it possible? What is behind it? Clearly just one thing: an unwillingness to settle the Afghan problem in deeds and to halt the armed conflict. The impression is being created that Islamabad is simply not interested in building normal relations with its neighbor, because how else and in what way can one explain its support for the unrealistic and provocative demands of the leaders of the so-called alliance of the seven in Peshawar, which, by the way, has already announced the formation of its government?

We have stated on more than one occasion that the formation of any coalition government is an internal matter for the Afghans themselves, and the question of a transitional government for Afghanistan should not be set as the latest new condition for signing a peace agreement. The truly historic chance must not be missed—that of finally concluding peace on Afghan soil and thereby opening the way to a settlement of other regional conflicts.

In brief, said Comrade Safi in conclusion, if the Pakistani side also stands aside from solving the problem this time, the entire responsibility for continuing the war in Afghanistan will lie with it, and history will pose serious questions to Islamabad for the irresponsibility displayed. [end recording]

'Responsible Approach' Urged

PM011239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Baykov article: "Responsible Approach Needed: The Next Round of Afghan-Pakistani Talks Begins in Geneva 2 March"]

[Text] The international community is hoping for a positive outcome to the Afghan-Pakistani talks—after all, there is now a real possibility of signing the accords covering all aspects of the settlement of the long-running regional conflict, accords which are already agreed in practice.

M.S. Gorbachev's 8 February statement on Afghanistan is viewed in the world as a major contribution to the solution of the Afghan problem. In offering concrete measures to promote a political settlement around Afghanistan and the successful conclusion of the Geneva talks, the Soviet leader was utterly explicit about the timing of the Soviet troop withdrawal. The initiatives from Moscow and Kabul are aimed not only at achieving the successful completion of the Afghan-Pakistani dialogue but also at resolving the Afghan problem as a whole.

The most important factor in the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan is the Afghan Government's policy of national reconciliation based on dialogue between the opposing sides.

It is clear to the impartial, however, that the efforts of the Soviet and Afghan governments alone are not enough to achieve that aim. There must be goodwill from all the sides involved in the conflict. This applies first and foremost to Pakistan.

It is well-known that with Islamabad's consent, Pakistani territory has been and continues to be used extensively for subversive activity against Afghanistan. In the border regions, dozens of training centers and bases have been set up where the armed forces of the Afghan opposition are prepared before being sent into Afghanistan.

Pakistan, you would think, ought to be one of the sides most interested in solving the Afghan problem. Suffice it to say that the activity of the Afghan opposition groupings on Pakistani territory has been causing a growing wave of public protest and domestic political tension in the country and the Afghan refugees' presence on Pakistani soil has aggravated already complex questions of unemployment, the distribution of pastureland, and food supplies for the population. As President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan has repeatedly stated, the restoration of peace in this neighboring state serves his own country's interests as well. In recent press interviews he has urged the Afghan rebels to "come to terms with reality" and even accept a division of power with the present government in Kabul.

Nevertheless, the elaboration of the formula for a political settlement at the Geneva talks—which have been going on since 1982—has made slow progress because of the marked inconsistency of Pakistan's stance.

This inconsistency is due not only to the fact that Islamabad has been and still is constantly pressured by forces whose interests are not served by the positive development of events in Afghanistan, but also to the fact that certain circles within Pakistan itself are clearly interested in prolonging the conflict, seeking to use this as the pretext to secure more and more supplies of modern armaments from the United States and its Western allies.

That is why Pakistani leading circles have now suddenly begun putting forward prior conditions which, it is claimed, must be fulfilled if the Geneva talks are to be concluded. Apparently forgetting its earlier statements that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was the only obstacle to the solution of the Afghan problem, the Pakistani leadership has now put forward the idea of creating a "transitional" Afghan government before the agreements are signed.

If Pakistan's leaders are really interested in settling the Afghan problem, they have an opportunity to prove that not in words but in deeds by signing the Geneva accords.

Now more than ever a responsible approach is needed to the opportunity which has emerged to resolve the Afghan problem. This applies not only to the direct participants in the Geneva talks but also to all the sides involved one way or another in the Afghan conflict. After all, it is no secret to anyone that the United States and its NATO allies can have a great and, it can be said, a decisive influence on the conduct of both the Pakistani leadership and the Afghan opposition. Indeed, their attitude to the Afghan settlement which is now entering the critical stage will be the measure by which the world can judge the worth of their appeals for a political solution of all regional conflicts.

The Soviet Union attaches great significance to the signing of the Geneva documents in the very near future. The Afghan leadership advocates that, too.

The Oriental proverb runs: You cannot choose your neighbors, but you can live in peace and accord with them. The commitment to noninterference in a neighboring state's affairs, the prevention of hostile activity against it, and the establishment of good-neighborly relations with it—that is the stance whereby the Pakistani side can make a real contribution to the solution of the Afghan problem.

Withdrawal on 'Clear Schedule'

PM011127 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Stanislav Kondrashov "Political Observer's Opinion": "Afghan Test"]

[Text] Since 8 February, Afghanistan has begun to look different to us in one aspect of decisive importance. Since M.S. Gorbachev's statement, the earlier political decision on the withdrawal of Soviet troops has become a clear schedule: The Soviet Union intends to commence the withdrawal 15 May and complete it within 10 months, and moreover a comparatively larger proportion of the Soviet contingent will leave Afghanistan in the initial stages.

The 8 February statement, when we look at it from within our country, as it were, concerns above all our soldiers and our people. This is a case where the reaction can by and large be said to be unequivocal: unconditional approval.

The decision on the withdrawal of the troops and the schedule for the withdrawal was agreed with Kabul and was supported in a simultaneous statement by President Najibullah, who once again stressed his government's loyalty to the policy of national reconciliation as the internal Afghan means of settling the crisis.

The other combatant party to the conflict is represented in particular by the motley "Alliance of the Seven"—armed groupings operating from Pakistani territory. Judging by reports from Peshawar, where the headquarters of the "Alliance of the Seven" are located, they do not, of course, have anything against the withdrawal of Soviet troops. But they refuse to have anything to do with the existing Afghan Government and categorically decline its invitation to take part in attempts to form a new coalition government. Essentially they demand that the Kabul government voluntarily quit the stage and hand over all power to its armed opponents.

What next? Today Afghanistan is the only country where one of the two great nuclear powers is directly involved, through the presence of its soldiers, in a regional conflict. Ever since the 1980 presidential campaign and during his 7-year term in the White House, Ronald Reagan has used Afghanistan as a kind of visual aid and prime example in his constant denunciations of "Soviet expansionism." It has to be admitted that broad circles of the U.S. public, which swiftly assigned funds for ever-increasing aid (from 50 million dollars in 1983 to 670 million dollars in 1987, a total of more than 1 billion dollars for this period alone) to the rebels, agreed with the President on this question. There is no escaping the fact that the Afghan question was political capital for our Western opponents and the continuing stay of our troops did not reduce but increased this capital. The capital was also circulated in those areas where there was U.S. expansionism—to justify the need for vigilance and the need to repulse "Soviet expansion." In Nicaragua, for example.

Recently, when the pile of ice hummocks in East-West relations began to thaw, the Afghan card was often put on the table in Washington, London, or Paris in response to Moscow's calls for new thinking. We were told to show this thinking with regard to Afghanistan. Show it, and we will be quick to react constructively to this. Last November, less than a month before the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, President Reagan said while receiving the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" in the White House: "...When the Soviet Union convincingly proves its readiness for a genuine political settlement, the United States will offer assistance. For the Soviet presence in Afghanistan is ultimately a serious obstacle to improving U.S.-Soviet relations and we would like to remove it."

When Moscow announced its firm political resolve to withdraw the troops more than a year ago we were told: Alas, we can't believe it until you give precise dates and publish the corresponding schedule. Here are Secretary of State Shultz' words spoken recently in January: "We are waiting for the Soviet Union to agree to firm dates for the troop withdrawal. We believe that the withdrawal timetable must be structured so that the main body of the forces is withdrawn in the initial period so that... this process is seen to be inevitable and it cannot be reversed. In such circumstances we will, of course, do what we promised within the framework of the Geneva process. Thus, we will make our contribution to the birth of an Afghanistan which will be self-governing and to which refugees will be able to return, an Afghanistan which will by no means form a military bloc with us and which will not join any other bloc—which will, in other words, be neutral."

Well, we have demonstrated the new thinking as applied to the open sore of Afghanistan. You have, Mr President, convincing proof of the "Soviet Union's readiness for a genuine political settlement." You have, Mr Secretary of State, "firm dates for the troop withdrawal," dates which moreover take into consideration your particular wishes. We are leaving without making any conditions apart from one: foreign noninterference in Afghan internal affairs. We extend this condition and this demand both to ourselves and to you, separating the domestic aspects of the Afghan crisis from the international aspects. The Afghans must straighten out their complex affairs themselves.

Thus Moscow seems to have done everything to ensure that they trust us. A wave of approving responses has rippled through the world and our newspapers, like the other mass media, have reported on this from various capitals in various continents. Now Moscow is entitled to pose an urgent question in response: How far can we trust the other external participants in the conflict under the new circumstances now prevailing? After the 8 February statement how is their contribution and their part in the emergent settlement shaping up? This question comes up against attitudes to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

The edifice of agreements has been erected with great care and difficulty since summer 1982—by Afghan and Pakistani representatives with the mediation of Diego Cordovez, the UN secretary general's personal representative. Although they have maintained diplomatic relations and retained their embassy in Kabul, the Pakistanis refused to meet with the Afghans face to face. In Geneva the mediator Cordovez scurried about first between the various buildings housing the participants in the talks and then between different rooms in the renowned Palais des Nations. The final round of talks will begin 2 March. The multistory edifice of the political settlement must receive the final finishing touches and be commissioned after the act of acceptance, which, in this case, means its builders signing four or maybe five documents. Afghanistan and Pakistan are to sign an agreement on principles of relations equivalent to a pact on noninterference in each other's affairs. Their representatives' signatures must also be affixed to the document on the "voluntary return" to their country of numerous Afghan refugees.

The USSR and the United States are to sign a declaration on international guarantees and also certify with their signatures yet another Afghan-Pakistani agreement—the "document on interdependence" of the settlement's various aspects, which also mentions the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

The Soviet Union, as the statement on Afghanistan indicates, hopes that everything will be signed no later than 15 March. In 2 months, 15 May, the withdrawal of our troops will begin.

It would seem that the outcome and the result sought in Washington and Islamabad are finally at hand. Just come to Geneva, sit down at the table, and quickly sign the documents which have been difficult to secure but which have finally been agreed. But no. It is not all so simple. The talks have lasted 5 and 1/2 years, but people in the two aforementioned capitals have not had time to prepare themselves for a favorable result. Islamabad was apparently taken unawares. When embarking on the talks, Islamabad seemingly did not think that they would ultimately prove successful. Washington too is in some confusion at such a decisive demonstration of what it has dreamed of so fervently, judging by statements made by the President and the secretary of state, and at the demonstration of new thinking and the new Soviet approach with regard to Afghanistan.

Let us see what baggage G. Shultz will be taking with him when he flies to Moscow 21 February. At the present, while welcoming the Soviet step, the Americans do not want to reciprocate and also determine their position constructively and precisely—as regards the very speedy, parallel, and simultaneous cessation of their aid to the armed Afghan opposition. Some time ago, London's THE TIMES prophetically pondered the specific difficulties which could arise for the West if the Soviet Union proposed most resolutely to unravel the Afghan knot. Listen: "The West may find itself in a situation where Afghanistan cannot be cited as an example of continuing Soviet aggression. On the contrary, it will be presented as testimony of the changing Soviet world outlook." What a conundrum. See what valuable advantages there are for the West in the Afghan crisis if it remains unsettled.

For God's sake, leave your troops in Afghanistan—and along with them our political capital and the possibility of delivering "Stingers." Undoubtedly such logic and such extremists do exist in America. How far does the official stance accord with their views? Obviously, only time will tell.

Now a word about Islamabad's position. Why is it retarding the Geneva process, which is approaching the final stretch? Pakistani representatives have worked out the Geneva agreements with representatives of the existing Afghan Government. In 1986 both sides gave Cordovez their consent to sign documents on the principles of relations and on the return of refugees and thus to normalize diplomatic relations between the two countries. Now, as if it has forgotten this accord, Pakistan is reneging on its word. People in Islamabad would like to sign agreements with the representatives... of a nonexistent Afghan Government. This obstructionist tactic emerged, it has been learned, during the recent meeting between Pakistani President General Ziaul Haq and Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister. The reason is as follows: Agreements must be signed with a Kabul government which refugees will trust—otherwise they will not leave Pakistan's territory. Even so, Islamabad does not express a desire to help form a coalition government in Afghanistan, although it has great opportunities to influence the "Alliance of Seven" on its territory. Moreover, while forgetting their own pledges they would like to encumber Moscow with a new commitment: to create in Kabul a government which suits the rebels, the Pakistanis, and the Americans alone. Do they not want too much?

In conversation with Geoffrey Howe, M.S. Gorbachev said that attitudes toward the Afghan settlement will be a test by which the world can judge the worth of calls for a political resolution of regional crises. This test is now being taken in capitals involved in the Afghan crisis.

'Chief Mullah' Interviewed

PM291531 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 88 p 3

[Own correspondent M. Kozhukhov dispatch: "Mullah Chooses Peace"]

[Text] Kabul—"No" once again! As has been reported from Pakistan, the counterrevolutionary "Alliance of Seven" has rejected the measures to settle the Afghan problem put forward in the statements by the leaders of the USSR and Afghanistan. The leaders of the armed opposition have stated that they intend to pursue the struggle until not a single Soviet soldier remains on Afghan soil and a government of "mujahedin," refugees, and true Muslims living in the country is set up.

How do true believers themselves regard this news? What does the Afghan clergy think about the statements by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the Afghan president? There are more than 230,000 mullahs in the country and they enjoy enormous authority. Unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of them prefer to stand aside from the conflict waging in Afghanistan. The majority, but not, however, all.

"All enmity is displeasing to Allah. For what has war brought us? Hunger, destruction, illiteracy, and death. Esteemed Najibullah and Mikhail Gorbachev are offering us something quite different—peace and calm. Surely this is what true believers dream of? It is clear to everyone that the proposals of our president and your leader match the Muslim's cherished dream."

My interlocutor, the venerable 'Abdulwajib, is a mullah well-known in Afghanistan. And not an ordinary mullah: Above his snow-white robes he wears a green army greatcoat. The post he occupies is that of chief Mullah of the Armed Forces. For that reason we were talking not in a mosque, but in his office in the republic's Ministry of Defense. The entire service of military clerics, set up some months ago during the implementation of the policy of reconciliation in the country, comes under 'Abdulwajib's command. In today's Afghanistan, regimental mullahs are becoming as inseparable a feature of the army as the secretaries of the regimental organizations of the PDPA and Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan. And they work there, not in spite of one another, but together.

"I am familiar with many of those who direct the counterrevolution," the army's chief mullah said. "And I do not consider them Muslims. Religion, the people, and Afghanistan do not interest them, only the power and money that the war give them. They are well aware that if the Geneva agreements are signed it will spell the end of the war and their money and power."

If they are signed. Many people in Kabul add that "if" as soon as talk turns to the hopes of a political settlement in Afghanistan and the proposals for withdrawing Soviet troops laid out in the statements of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and President Najibullah. But it is not the stance adopted by the counterrevolutionary ringleaders that is at issue, of course: It is plain to all that without their protectors in the West and East, the war would not last long. No, the problem is that the stance of the dushmans' main "sponsor," the United States, remains ambiguous, and statements by representatives of the American Administration regarding U.S. readiness to act as guarantor of noninterference in Afghan affairs are sometimes mutually exclusive...

"The USSR and Afghanistan have done their utmost to ensure that peace comes to our land," Mullah 'Abdulwajib said. "We have the right to expect the same from the opposing side. The Soviet leader's statement put this very accurately: If any states or political forces wreck the settlement process, they will be bear the entire responsibility for this before the peoples of Afghanistan, and indeed before other peoples too."

Both of us—an Afghan mullah and a Soviet journalist—agreed that this said it all.

Veteran Assures Afghan Involvement Not 'Futile'

PM020847 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Feb 88 First Edition p 3

[Letter from Afghanistan veteran Gennadiy Ruzanov: "'We Have Carried Out Our Duty...' Letter from a Soviet Internationalist Soldier Who Fought in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Not long ago there was a debate at the Altay State University organized by the "Politklub" youth association. The theme of the students' discussion was: "Was the introduction of Soviet forces into Afghanistan necessary?" Various views were expressed and a keen debate developed on a political theme that worries many people. It is a pity that none of the Altay internationalist troops participated in the dialogue. I am sure that we would all have had something to say on the matter.

We did not go to that tormented land as conquerors or occupiers. We really were carrying out our international duty—to a neighboring people whose peaceful life had been obliterated by an undeclared war that was possible only because it was backed by external forces. We gained first-hand knowledge of this "backing." I saw Italian-made mines on mountain roads. I saw battle-damaged U.S., British, and Israeli weapons. It was necessary to neutralize armed formations that had been equipped and trained on the other side of the Afghan-Pakistani border. I know that not all these people had voluntarily made war on people's power, but there were real professional evildoers among them, schooled by Western instructors in all the rules of the science of murder.

So it is strange for me and my comrades to hear people say that it was "futile" to introduce the limited contingent of Soviet forces into a neighboring state. In fact, all the provinces were aflame and the country was on the brink of anarchy and genocide.

The situation in Afghanistan is now changing. Entire provinces of peace have appeared on the country's map. Many Afghans who had been misled or had failed to understand the nature of the transformations effected by the Kabul government are returning home. Entire armed formations have stopped fighting, and their leaders are sitting down at the negotiating table with representatives of people's power. The policy of national reconciliation is beginning to bear fruit. And in this atmosphere the withdrawal of our forces from Afghanistan is the sensible and right thing to do.

And I am sure that the last internationalist soldier will leave that land with a sense of dignity, aware that he has done his duty. When the process of a political settlement in the country becomes irreversible, our mission will be complete. And the proud word "internationalist" will pass from us troops to the Soviet specialists, workers, and engineers who will be helping friends to resurrect the war-devastated economy.

I am sure that every internationalist soldier will agree with me when I say: We support the position of our party and government as expressed in M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan. We have demonstrated that hegemony is alien to us and we do not need to take other people's territory. At the request of a neighboring state we helped it acquire peace and we can be proud of that.

Gennadiy Ruzanov, internationalist soldier, now "Sibenergomash" association party committee instructor, holder of the order of the Red Star. Barnaul.

Afghan Social, Military Problems Discussed

PM020951 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 88 p 3

[Part one of special correspondent Ye. Lesoto "Afghan Notebook" series: "Assignment To Cover the War"]

[Text] You are looking at notes made by a complete civilian who got involved in the war by total accident. They may contain petty inaccuracies immediately visible to any military person, but not to the author. Do not pass a harsh judgment, some inaccuracies are inevitable when an author's military training amounts to zero.

More than a year ago I asked to go on assignment to Afghanistan to write an article about oriental women. I had an alluring and speculative idea: In order to gain an "insight" into oriental women, I would walk around Kabul wearing a yashmak and would thus mix with Afghan women somewhere in an oriental bazaar. My idea was that this would enable me to depict the changes that have occurred in the position of women.

So much for the extent of my knowledge of events in Afghanistan.

I was finally informed that we would be flying out at the end of December.

Concerned people suggested that I should take a thermos with me, carry it with me everywhere, and drink water only from the thermos rather than drinking any other water, in order to avoid catching some local disease. I took this advice seriously and flew out to cover the war with my thermos bottle.

Travels in Kabul [subhead]

We were driven to a hotel in Kabul and were told that we would be safe there, inside the two-story hotel. But only there. The hotel was surrounded by sentry boxes manned by riflemen, and that was the boundary of the safe territory.

Our group consisted of some 30 journalists from various union republics, mainly from television. Many of them were also equipped with their own thermos bottles. Ready to beat off the enemy with thermos bottles.

We were informed of the program for our stay. I noticed that the program did not contain any excursions around Kabul. I asked why not. I was politely told that, should the opportunity present itself, we would be driven around Kabul on the last day before our departure for Moscow, but that the opportunity might not present itself. They told us again that we were safe inside the hotel.

I still did not know what that was: the actual circumstances or a question of playing it safe. I rather thought it was the latter. My neighbors around the coffee table also suspected that it was a matter of playing it safe.

We traveled to a regiment stationed just outside Kabul to be issued military uniform. We were each given a rather neat but rather crumpled "jumpsuit," a cloth cap, and a pea jacket (a three-layer waist-length jacket with a fur collar). We then made our way to the nearest regiment of the Afghan People's Army.

Here is the composition of our convoy: A lead vehicle with riflemen, followed by a BTR (armored personnel carrier, "armor" in military slang), with our two buses in the middle, and another BTR behind. We looked at Kabul through the bus windows. The television journalists asked for a brief stop: It is difficult to film on the move. Request denied. We traveled on without stopping.

An endless row of adobe buildings on both sides of the road. There is dust everywhere, and everything is dusty—winter desert. Numerous small stalls along the road. The ultimate dream here is to own your own stall. It is respectable to be a stallholder. The best profession is that of stallholder, followed by engineer and physician.

Fruit in abundance. Oranges and apples break the monotonous yellow desert background. Afghanistan's yellow clay. According to the Muslim calendar, Afghanistan is now in the 14th century.

Some women actually wear yashmaks: Either blue or camouflage color. Sometimes you see a black or a white one. I asked about the reason for the difference: Age? Social status? Tribal distinction? The answer was much simpler: The yashmak's color is a matter of taste. Women wear whatever color they fancy.

A woman journalist from the Baltic had the same idea as I, but her creative intent was much richer: She was hoping to buy a yashmak for her personal use.

In the course of one conversation, the interpreter refused to translate this question:

"What is your wife's name?"

He said that this question was rude and improper. If I really wanted to know, the interpreter was willing to tell the name of his own wife, but he would not translate this question. Nor should one ask the name of someone's mother or sister.

It is difficult to buy a wife, since wives are expensive—up to 1 million afghanis, like a car—and then they become the husband's property. Nobody must see her face or know her name.

Villages are governed by elders and mullahs (who represent local power). This is still a largely tribal society, a primitive community system.

According to official data, some 3 million people have fled the country because of the war. Nobody knows how many young people there are in the country. It is known that there are fewer schools and school pupils than before the war. Even in Kabul, only 20 percent of children attend school. The poverty is terrible.

The first gangs to be set up were armed with shotguns and old English rifles. The military now use the expressions "so-called gangs" or "former gangs" because now we are dealing with trained and armed formations which are ideally suited to local conditions and enjoy support among a significant proportion of the population.

The counterrevolution has learned to form **brutal** [boldface as published] detachments. They are made up of "bloodhounds," in other words those who, according to the laws of vendetta, must exact brutal vengeance.

The military situation was becoming increasingly complex while we were there. We were told that the number of incidents in which our troops were coming under fire from the dushmans was growing. This was the first time in 8 years that the dushmans had fought in winter. That had never happened before. There were exchanges of fire every night.

So we were looking out through the bus windows. Was that a matter of playing it safe? No. In my view, here there is nothing but war. War everywhere. Just 2 hours after we left, following our visit to the staff of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops, the staff premises came under fire. This is Kabul, which lies inside a triple fence, the safest place in the country.

An intelligence report came in toward the end of our stay: A group of terrorists dressed in Soviet military uniforms had entered Kabul. Their task was to try to assassinate party and state leaders, our specialists, and anyone else who was in any way prominent.

Kabul was a closed city between 25 December and 5 January. Only one or two delegations were allowed to visit (ours and another one that was due to arrive), that was all.

They discovered 8 rocket-propelled projectiles targeted on our embassy and another 12 a little further away.

A curfew comes into effect as soon as darkness falls. Riflemen patrol the streets. At nighttime you hear constant exchanges of fire outside the hotel windows.

Night Flight [subhead]

Our group of 30 journalists was divided into four sections: The largest was to stay on in Kabul while the others traveled to the provinces: Shindand, Konduz, and Bagram. I was put down for Bagram. My companions on the flight were Natalya Yanina from the Komsomol Central Committee; Aleksandr Glazunov from "Around the World"; Mikhail Tsyupko from KRYMSKIY KOMSOMOLETS; and Vasiliy Yatsura from Ukrainian Television.

On the eve of our flight to the provinces, we learned that one of our military aircraft flying in from Kabul had been shot down by a "Stinger" above Bagram. Natasha's and my face fell. The guys got excited. They had been issued with pistols and, opening up their outer clothing, they showed us the weapons with silent pride.

It appeared that someone by the name of Sayyed was with the dushmans near Bagram. Sayyed was celebrating on that day: They were all in the money, since the price of a downed aircraft is 1 million afghanis (the price of a "Mercedes"). Sayyed had a double cause for celebration—he wouldn't have his head chopped off. He had to down an aircraft with at least one of the three "Stingers" issued to him. If all three "Stingers" are wasted, heads are chopped off. These are the customary ways of our adversary: Everything for money, and heads chopped off at the slightest excuse. That had been the third "Stinger."

How did we come to know all this? Everything is known in Afghanistan. We know all about the dushmans, and they know all about us. This is an indication of brilliant work by both intelligence services and of disgusting conspiracies—also by both sides.

We were shown a ledger containing dushmans' signatures. Everything expressed in monetary terms, everything with its price, everything entered in the proper column.

We were soon to learn that the airman had been cut up into small pieces by the dushmans, or rather hacked up with choppers. This is their usual way of dealing with prisoners: First as revenge, then as intimidation. To start with, they cut them to pieces, and then they quarter them (the quartering is mandatory, because when Allah comes to summon people to paradise he will have no use for anyone who has been quartered, who will end up in hell).

There are 200,000 mullahs in the country, and the country is extremely religious (this is apropos the question of the "link" between religion and morality over which some cultural figures are now exercising their brains). Come to Afghanistan and you will see this "link" with your own eyes. As a matter of fact, neither famous novelists nor poets come here. Let me add one more fact: All sessions here begin with the words: "In the name of Allah!"

The dushmans load copies of the Koran with explosives. They also use copies of the Koran as holsters to transport pistols.

There are occasions when they try to influence the Afghan People's Army in this way: A mullah shouts from a loudspeaker on the side of the gangs:

"When Allah divided up the land, he gave this land to us, and you have come down from the North. Allah will punish you!"

Such backwardness cannot be crushed or legislated out of existence. It will have to be gradually overcome.

The dushmans have no fear of death in battle: It is "Allah's summons!", a summons to a life that is better than this, but they are mortally afraid of a bloodless death, such as being hanged or suffocated: Allah has no use for such people and they will end up in hell.

The main factor in this war are the caravans. If there were an end to the camel caravans coming in through the mountain passes from Pakistan, there would be an end to military operations. The caravans bring in weapons for the dushmans.

"Caravans are coming in from Pakistan,

"Which means more work for the 'crow.'"

This is how the local song goes. The "black crow" is the aircraft transporting the dead back to the Union.

"The 'black crow' is carrying

"Those coming back from assignment,

"Back to the homeland

"To lie in their native soil."

...So we were told about the airman who was shot down while flying the route we had to fly. I must tell you the truth: I spent my entire assignment thinking about the fate that befell him. This airman is carved into my mind more deeply than any other impressions of Afghanistan.

What is a "Stinger"? It is a missile manufactured in the "empire of good." "Stingers" are sensitive to heat, noise, and metal. This is why you often see heat charges being fired into the sky above Afghanistan—yellow balls with white tails. Our military aircraft deceive the "Stinger's" heat-seeking head, but there are no noise or metal charges to be fired. The only way is to ascend or descend at such a speed that they have no chance to see you and set their sights on you. Once they do that, the "Stinger" itself changes direction and... Do you remember? I mentioned Sayyed. In other words, essentially during takeoff and landing. While you are cruising up high, the "Stingers" are not dangerous.

You might ask: Could airfields not be moved further back into the rear? No. There is no rear in Afghanistan. The front line is everywhere. I too used to think: There is the front line, our guys on one side, the enemy on the other. Nothing of the sort. This is not the Great Patriotic War. This is a different theater of military operations. No matter where the airstrip used by airmen was, dushmans could approach to within 100 meters. Or take a road which we control, with dushmans along both sides of it. On both sides you have so-called "greenery"—former vineyards, pulverized and turned into a desert by the war. Beneath the "greenery" you have irrigation systems built over the centuries, underground tunnels running from the mountain tops all over the country. Their depth varies, down to 15 meters at times. Another country, this one underground.

A dushman would climb out of the "greenery," fire a grenade launcher at our convoys driving along the road, and get back again. The surface is totally covered with mines, there is no vacant space left (during the Khowst operation, for example, up to 300 mines were defused on a sector of 40 meters by 40 meters), but we have no idea what is happening underground: That is dushman country. We only know what is happening on the surface.

We were driven to the airport at night when our group was due to fly out to Bagram. Night flights are less dangerous than day flights. In fact, the airman yesterday was shot down at night.

The airman ordered:

"Unload your weapons!"

I had nothing to unload. Apart from a kitchen knife (usually blunt) I have never held any weapon in my hands. We were led inside the aircraft, made to sit on metal benches along the cabin sides, and had parachutes put on us:

"Your hand, your hand! Haven't you ever put on a rucksack? No? Come on, now your leg, your leg! This red ring here, in an emergency you jump, count 3 seconds, and pull on it. What's the matter with you, haven't you ever jumped before?!"

The lights go out inside the aircraft (an aircraft here is called a "bort" and not an aircraft), we go into a sharp climb, and fly on our way in total darkness. This type of military aircraft is not pressurized and it is very difficult to breathe, the body feels overloaded, and the heart starts palpitating (from fear, I thought at the time, but I was later told that it was due to overloading caused by the lack of pressurization). My thoughts turned to nightmares: I could see myself leaping straight into the dushmans' hands. Then my entire mind was occupied with thoughts of my younger child, who has still to grow up.

When I left he was sitting in front of the television set, watching something. We have only just bought a new color set. What am I doing!!! Stupid housewife, where are you going?!

Natasha found my hand in the darkness. I felt her taking my pulse. She then asked:

"How old are your children?"

I told her that the older one is grown up, the younger is only 12, and that was what worried me. She again felt for my pulse, then whispered in my ear:

"I have some medicine in my pocket."

We flew on.

I felt the change of direction in complete darkness. Are we falling? But we had not been shot. We were still in one piece. The pilot's skill is to be able to descend from an altitude of 9,000 meters within 2-3 minutes, in other words to virtually drop down like a stone. Otherwise Sayyed will manage to sight us. Our lives depend on the pilot's skill.

We landed.

Two BTR's were waiting for us in the night fog. This was our transportation. We climbed inside the armor and were driven to the unit's staff.

Afghan Clergy's Role in Reconciliation

LD011939 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1551 GMT 1 Mar 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] Now I want to show you a report filmed in Afghanistan by our correspondents Stanislav Tarasov and Sergey Grigoryan, on the attitude of Afghanistan's religious figures to the process of national reconciliation:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Afghanistan is a Muslim country. Islam has exerted—and still does exert—an influence on virtually every sphere of society: standards of behavior, morals, and family and marital issues. For this reason, the Islam clergy in Afghanistan has always been a considerable force. Now there are 250,000 clergymen in the country.

We are now in the famous Mazar-e Sharif mausoleum. This complex was built in the 15th century and was, in the Middle Ages, considered the religious center of the entire Muslim east. This wonderful mosque was built on the spot where the prophet 'Ali, one of the founders of Shi'ism, was buried.

Nowadays each year thousands of Moslem pilgrims make their way to this mosque from virtually all of the Muslim East. This is a sort of center for the formation of an unofficial public opinion among the believing populace, and not just of Afghanistan. That is why the country's government and the opposition parties outside of the boundaries of Afghanistan carefully observe and try to influence the clergy's position in their own way. There are many reasons: After the April Revolution, the equality of all peoples and nationalities was proclaimed. But the Amin regime, which discredited many of the revolutionary slogans, dealt particularly harshly with the Shi'ites, who are a minority in Afghanistan. Then a fair amount was done in the country to reassert the principles of the April Revolution. What have been the results of this new policy, and what stance does the Afghan clergy take in the conditions of national reconciliation?

We have been given the chance to speak to the mosque's senior clergyman, Amir Abdollah Nafi. How do you see the religious situation in Afghanistan?

[Nafi speaks in vernacular, fading into Russian translation] Up until the victory of the April Revolution, the clergy's center of activity was only in the capital. In the provinces the mullahs and ulemas did not have the opportunity to voice their interests and defend the interests of their believers. Now an Islamic Council has been set up, and the government has—in deeds rather than words— begun to show respect for the clergy's patriotic work.

[Correspondent] What do you think: Can the Afghan clergy contribute to the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan? Can it help to ensure that in the future Afghanistan pursues a policy of nonalignment and becomes a democratic, free, and independent state?

[Nafi] The mullahs and ulemas today see their task in ensuring that the state's policy of national reconciliation is more effectively implemented. Toward this end, we religious figures help the government as much as possible. [end recording]

Links With Afghan Trade Union Councils Detailed

LD011915 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Twenty-nine republics and regions of the Soviet Union have reached agreement with as many Afghan provinces on direct trade union links.

Gennadiy Yanayev, secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, had this comment on the fact: "The process of a political settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan, which has been gathering momentum, is creating prerequisite conditions for a fundamentally new phase in bilateral relations.

"We are proceeding from all-round support for Afghan trade unions to mutually beneficial cooperation. A real way to closer interaction between the working people of the neighboring countries has been indicated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his recent statement on Afghanistan."

The direct contacts between Soviet and Afghan trade unions in different regions, he said, will cover all social and economic aspects of their activities. Among other things, they will step up exchanges of experience in resolving production problems, promoting technical innovation and amateur talent pursuits, and organizing socialist emulation drives to exceed planned targets.

A new agreement between the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions, which was signed in Kabul late last year, provides for also other forms of bilateral cooperation.

More scholarships will be offered for Afghan students at the higher school of the trade union movement in Moscow as well as at courses in Afghanistan where lectures will be delivered by Soviet specialists.

A total of 150 Afghan trade union activists will come to the USSR next summer for rest and medical treatment and 2,000 Afghan children will spend their vacations at Soviet Young Pioneer camps.

The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions will help the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions with modern equipment for club houses and other cultural facilities.

Yanayev said bilateral trade union cooperation dates from 1981 when Afghan trade unions held their constituent congress. Since then Soviet trade unions have been giving effective aid to the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions organizationally as well as with materials and equipment.

Future plans provide for forming direct links between Soviet and Afghan trade unions at the level of individual economic sectors and enterprises in the same economic fields, Yanayev said.

Kamentsev, Afghanistan's Amin Discuss Trade Ties

PM291657 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] A conversation took place 26 February between V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and S.'A. Amin, first deputy chairman of the Republic of Afghanistan Council of Ministers. During the conversation, which was held in a friendly atmosphere and was of a constructive nature, they discussed some questions of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

M. Safi, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, attended the conversation.

Afghan Private, State Sector Cooperation Praised

LD291613 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 29 TASS—1,300 Afghan refugees have returned to native villages of the Kabul Province since the national reconciliation course was launched in Afghanistan, the BAKHTAR news agency reported. Extraordinary national reconciliation commissions sent over that period hundreds of messages to leaders of armed units functioning on its territory, calling upon them to promote peace in the province. A positive reply was given to most of the messages.

With spring field work in the offing, 10,050 tons of chemical fertilizers and wheat seeds have been distributed among peasants. Cooperation between the state and the private sector of the country is yielding positive results. According to the data of the commission on private capital investments under the Council of Ministers of Afghanistan, 133 new private enterprises with the initial capital of about 2,000 million Afghani were formed with the government's assistance over the past year. The enterprises will employ about 6,000 workers and employees, experts believe. Most of the new enterprises belong to the building, metal working, chemical, light and food industries. 72 of them are in Kabul, and the rest—in different Afghan provinces.

East Europe

Further on Gromyko Delegation Hungarian Visit

Gromyko Visits Electronics Works

LD262353 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Gromyko's official friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic continues.

The Videoton, a leading video electronics production association, is in the town of Szekesfehervar. Today Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and Karoly Nemeth visited the works.

Leaders of industrial enterprises, representatives of party organizations, and bodies of people's power of the region attended the meeting at the works' managerial office. It was noted in a friendly and comradely atmosphere that links between our countries and peoples continue to strengthen. For example, Szekesfehervar is twinned with Voroshilovgrad, and 75 departments of the Hungary-USSR Friendship Society are active here. Workers told their high-ranking guest about their successes and unresolved problems in a frank and detailed manner.

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko familiarized himself with the operation of the computer-producing works. About 70 percent of the Videoton output are exported, yet the enterprise is triving invariably to improve the quality of its output so that it corresponds to the accepted international standards.

It is practically impossible to resolve this task on one's own, especially in such a scientifically complex industry as electronics. Therefore, during meetings at the works, the importance of expanding international cooperation between the socialist countries was stressed more than once. Electronics occupies an increasingly important place within the structure of the Hungarian national economy; this is not surprising, as about 80 percent of the country's enterprises are using various types of computer technology. The Hungarian computer pool comprises about 100,000 of the so-called personal microcomputers and about 1,500 variable-power universal computers. Of course, some of them have been imported from abroad yet the percentage of Hungarian-made intelligent machines grows every year; some of them are manufactured here, at Videoton.

The expansion and improvement of the enterprise's production capacities is an integral part of a broad governmental program for developing Hungarian electronic computing technology. The program was started as early as the seventies. Since then a reliable research and production base has been created not only here but also in other towns and regions of the country. Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko spoke in shops with workers and engineers. Many of them speak good Russian because they learned their profession in the Soviet Union. In particular, they said the so-called home minicomputer had been designed and introduced in production here at the Videoton.

It is not out of the question that this computer will also soon turn up in our country, as even now hundreds of Videoton-made computers and computing complexes are working reliably in the USSR. An interesting figure was given during this visit to the works. One can say that 44 out of every 100 Videoton workers are working directly in the interests of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. Before leaving, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko made an entry in the diary of the socialist labor team.

In the afternoon, in the main hall of the parliament, Comrade Gromyko and Nemeth signed a joint communique on the results of the official friendly visit. It notes, specifically, consonance between the process of restructuring in the USSR and the program of the stabilization and development of the Hungarian People's Republic, something which opens new opportunities for the all-around development of Soviet-Hungarian links, and serves the cause of socialism and social progress, as the communique says.

The same day Comrades Loginov and Barity, deputy foreign ministers of the two countries, signed an intergovernmental accord on setting up a cultural, scientific, and information center of Hungary and the Soviet Union and on its activity. A plan for cooperation between the USSR Writers Union and the Hungarian Writers Union for this year was signed too; Comrades Karpov and Cseres were the signatories.

A joint communique was adopted on the results of Comrade Gromyko's official friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic; its text will be published in the press.

Gromyko Leaves for Moscow

LD271213 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, 27 Feb (TASS)—A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, left Budapest for Moscow today following an official and friendly visit at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic [HPR]. A.K. Antonov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; A.E. Voss, USSR Soviet of Nationalities chairman; USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Loginov; Ye.M. Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economic and International Affairs of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and V.V. Karpov, USSR Union of Writers board first secretary, left with him.

A farewell ceremony was held for the high-ranking Soviet visitor in front of the Hungarian parliament building in Lajos Kossuth Square, which was decorated with the state flags of the two countries. The band played the national anthems of the HPR and the USSR. A.A. Gromyko was seen off by R. Trautmann, HPR Presidium deputy chairman; I. Sarlos deputy chairman, HPR National Assembly president; and other officials. The farewell ceremony ended with a march past by a guard of honor.

At the airport A.A. Gromyko was seen off by K. Nemeth, HPR Presidium chairman, and G. Horn, under secretary of state of the HPR Foreign Ministry.

Among those seeing him off were S. Rajnai, HPR ambassador to the USSR, and B.I. Stukalin, USSR's ambassador to the HPR.

Arrives in Moscow

LD271308 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1256 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—Andrey Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium president, returned to Moscow from Budapest today. He stayed in Hungary on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

At the airport A.A. Gromyko was met by A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; S.B. Tatliyev, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; T.N. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary; and other officials.

Among those meeting him was Ja. Barabas, Hungarian charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR.

Hungarian Reportage

For Hungarian media coverage of the visit to the Hungarian People's Republic by delegation led by A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, see the Hungary section of the 23 February East Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Kadar Addresses Executives in Szekesfehervar

LD021102 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest March 2 TASS—"Perestroyka carried on in the Soviet Union, as well as a process of rejuvenation of socio-economic life which is under way in other socialist countries promote the formation of favourable conditions for the creative labour of Hungarian people". Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, has said at his meeting with senior executives of the Fejer, Komarom and Veszprem Regions in Szekesfehervar.

Touching upon questions connected with the internal political development, the Hungarian leader pointed out that the process of socialist development of Hungary had entered the stage when a dynamic progress in the economic and social sphere had slowed down. This had been brought about both by subjective and objective factors, he continued, including the shortcomings in the work of the party, as well as the foreign economic situation, more unfavourable than had been expected, and a belated response to changes.

By starting the upgrading of the economic management, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party led the process of reforms which is historic by its significance. The continuous renewal of means and methods of work on the basis of socialist gains of the Hungarian people is the main guarantee of a successful fulfilment of the tasks facing the country. It is important for communists to work as a united front for a successful implementation of the program of the country's socio-economic development, further promoting in this way the wellbeing of the Hungarian people, Janos Kadar pointed out in conclusion.

Hungary's Medgyessy on First Moscow Visit

LD262307 Budapest MTI in English 2104 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, February 26 (MTI)—Irrespective of the size of countries, it is worth studying the practice of others. This was reconfirmed during the official talks in Moscow of Peter Medgyessy, Hungarian deputy prime minister. The deputy prime minister, who paid his first visit to Moscow in this capacity, told the Moscow correspondent of MTI that his Soviet partners displayed sincere and keen interest in the experience of Hungary.

Peter Medgyessy held talks with Mikhail Zotov, president of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Industry and Construction, Boris Gostev, minister of finance, and Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy of the Soviet Prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Committee, and met Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU CC Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

In the talks the sides discussed the two countries' practice in the modernization of economic management, the tasks faced by their national economies, experience in plan coordination and the development of their economic mechanisms. The development of the CMEA mechanism, including the modernization of the monetary system and the establishment of joint ventures, was also addressed.

Yazov Greets Vaclavik on CSSR Jubilee

PM020841 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message from USSR Defense Minister Yazov to CSSR counterpart on 1948 anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

Personally, and on behalf of the USSR Armed Forces, I send to you and to all servicemen of the Czechoslovak People's Army sincere congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the Czechoslovak working people's February victory over reaction.

The Czechoslovak working people's victory in February 1948 predetermined Czechoslovakia's further development along the socialist path. Over the years of socialist building under the CPCZ leadership fraternal Czechoslovakia has achieved great success in the economic and social spheres and in science and culture. Being a strong link of the socialist community, it is making a worthy contribution to realizing the socialist countries' peace initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race and ensuring peace throughout the planet.

On the day of the anniversary I wish the Czechoslovak People's Army servicemen further success in military labor and in strengthening the CSSR's defense capability.

With Communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

CSSR Finance Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD292314 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Jaromir Zak arrived in Moscow today for a working visit. He will participate in the meeting of the ministers of finance of CEMA member countries. He will also discuss with the Soviet partners some topical issues of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

Polish Patriotic Movement Delegation Visits

LD292214 Warsaw PAP in English 1934 GMT 29 Feb 88

[By PAP correspondent Jozef Rzeszut]

[Text] Moscow, Feb. 29—A delegation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) with chairman of the National Council Jan Dobraczynski and PUWP CC secretary, PRON general secretary Stanislaw Ciosek has been staying in the Soviet Union at the invitation from the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation with Foreign Countries.

Today talks were held under the Co-chairmanship of chairman of the Soviet organization Valentina Tyereshkova and Dobraczynski.

The two signed the first agreement on cooperation between both social movements.

Delegation Leaves for Riga

LD012358 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] On the 2d day of their visit to the Soviet Union, the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] delegation, which includes Jan Dobraczynski and Stanislaw Ciosek, paid a visit to the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. The Polish guests were also received by Minister of Culture Vasiliy Zakharov, who briefed them on the cultural policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government and the profound changes taking place in cultural and artistic life, as well as the all-around cooperation in this sphere developing with Poland.

In the afternoon, Jan Dobraczynski visited the seat of the Patriarchate of Moscow and All Russia, where he had a meeting with Minsk and Belorussia Metropolitan, Filaret. Among the matters discussed were the preparations for the celebrations to mark the millenium of the baptism of Russia and the peace activities of the Russian Orthodox Church.

In the evening, the PRON delegation left for the Latvian capital, Riga.

Court Sentences Polish Journalists for 'Spying'

LD011815 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw March 1 TASS—The military tribunal of the Warsaw military district has sentenced two Polish journalists for spying for foreign powers, a Polish Government spokesman told a news conference here today.

He said the two men, M. Dastycha and T. Podwysocki, who had worked at the RZECZPOSPOLITA newspaper, were sentenced respectively for eight years and 18 months in prison.

It was proved during the investigation, the spokesman said, that they had supplied the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the secret service of another foreign country for foreign currency with information about the social, political and economic situation in Poland and about individual Polish citizens, including journalists.

Glowczyk on Relations' Problems, Potential

PM020957 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, in Warsaw by TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent Z. Slakowski under the rubric "Community: Fraternal Newspapers Have the Floor": "Declaration in Action"; date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—[Slakowski] The declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the field of ideology, science, and culture signed 21 April last year by Wojciech Jaruzelski and M.S. Gorbachev is an important contribution to mutual relations between the PZPR and the CPSU and Poland and the USSR. It provided for the enrichment of the joint quest for solutions to the problems life poses, the better use of the potential of socialism, the attainment of a deeper mutual understanding, the active exchange of experience, and the promotion of the further rapprochement of our peoples. Nearly a year has elapsed. Has all this been confirmed in practice?

[Glowczyk] Not much time has elapsed since the signing of the declaration. I think at present we can speak only of the first steps, the first experience. The declaration has activated levers of cooperation and opened up prospects for it which have imparted a qualitatively new dimension to our collaboration.

What are in my view two very interesting phenomena have emerged. First, there is the decentralization of actual contacts at all levels. Public initiative dictated by real needs and by the interest of specific collectives has gained freedom. Second, new undertakings have acquired a decisively different nature. I would call this the restructuring of the very concept and forms of collaboration. For instance, over the course of the year direct contacts have been established been virtually all Polish voivodships and corresponding USSR oblasts. Previously this cooperation was concentrated mainly in the border regions. But the essence of the changes does not even lie in quantity. We are now organizing "round tables" of first secretaries of voivodships and oblasts where questions of enhancing the efficiency of cooperation and exchanging experience are discussed jointly.

Delegations and groups now travel to the partner country with specific missions. The Soviet comrades, for instance, are often interested in our decisions aimed at developing and intensifying socialist democracy and in the principles of the party's collaboration with other public organizations. We are studying in some detail the way in which cadres policy is structured. Cooperation has recently strengthened between party higher educational establishments and various scientific research centers. Or take the press, radio, and television. Right now 73 Polish editorial offices have cooperation contracts with the same number of Soviet creative collectives. That is twice more than just 2-3 years ago.

[Slakowski] We sensed this in the development of cooperation between TRYBUNA LUDU and PRAVDA. We are publishing materials from the joint "round tables" in both newspapers and we have prepared publications together and assumed patronage of direct cooperation between enterprises and scientific institutes and we are organizing reciprocal tours for journalists.

[Glowczyk] This cooperation has been developed through all channels of the mass media. These are no longer special occasion visits. In a brief period 15 "round table" discussions have been organized and 45 radio and television programs and 5 television linkups have been jointly prepared. I would say that all this has developed into a completely new form of contacts.

Great progress has also been achieved in cultural cooperation. Here it is not only a case of the Warsaw Days in Moscow which, incidentally, were held in an innovative, new way. Performances by our "Studio" and "Drama" theaters in Moscow were events of stage art. I shall note the special success of exhibitions by modern Polish artists. Poland assessed just as highly the Soviet art represented by the Yermolova Theater, the movies "Risk" and "Repentance..." Frankly, the reception of the first channel of Soviet television in Warsaw and its environs made it possible to gain direct access to Soviet reality. We are awaiting with interest the start of the Moscow Days in Warsaw and many other events scheduled in both countries.

[Slakowski] Ties of a more local nature but nonetheless of great importance are obviously also being established....

[Glowczyk] Yes. For instance, over 100 cultural institutions on both sides have established cooperation. We believe this will soon produce specific results. The same may be said of the contracts signed by the creative unions. Broad exchange is being practised by workers from the ranks of creative young people. Or take joint meetings by artists and the exchange of youth groups during vacations.

[Slakowski] As is well known, joint work by Polish and Soviet scholars on the so-called "blank spots" in the two countries' history has generated particular interest.

[Glowczyk] I believe it would be too narrow a view of the problems which the two countries' party historians are examining. It is a question of more—of joint work on the history of our states, on the past of peoples living as neighbors. Historians are also faced with the task of revising textbooks. In particular a joint geographical commission has already embarked on this work. But it must be noted that this represents a large amount of painstaking work which cannot be done in just a few days. Sessions of a group of historians in Moscow have taken place and return sessions will soon take place in Warsaw. The Polish side is interested in particular in elucidating several questions concerning the resurrection of the Polish state in 1918 and the World War II period. This is also connected with the 70th anniversary of Poland's independence which will be celebrated this year and which is closely linked with the Great October events.

[Slakowski] Perhaps this is only a detail in the mainstream of the declaration's provisions—the opening of a Polish information and culture center in Moscow.

[Glowczyk] I agree. Perhaps it is only a detail, but not such an unimportant one. After all it is as if were the opening of a new channel for transmitting knowledge about Poland to the USSR public.

[Slakowski] What if we touch on questions of the material, organizational base of the cooperation which is developing. After all, the exchange of people, which is constantly growing, of itself demands a considerable expansion of this base....

[Glowczyk] Here several difficulties must still be overcome. For instance, we are examining the question of opening new border transit points and bringing in additional transport facilities for shipments. The USSR Academy of Sciences provided us with 50 apartments in one of its Moscow apartment blocks last year. Without that nearly 50 of our professors, doctors of scientists, and lecturers would have been unable to start research work. The examination of the question of creating a joint Polish-Soviet publishing and printing enterprise is at the final stage.

[Slakowski] One more question concerning the past, but in my opinion it cannot be examined in isolation from the present day. I remember the animation with which readers welcomed the report from our correspondent in the Soviet Union that a great deal is being done in Lvov to preserve ancient monuments and sites connected with the life of Poles and Polish culture.

[Glowczyk] This is also being done within the framework of plans outlined by the declaration. These sites and monuments have been specially taken into account and there are many of them and, in my view, not only in the Ukraine. Where the need arises they will be reconstructed or renovated, like for instance, the Lychakovskoye cemetery in Lvov. Since we have started talking about the historical Polish presence on Soviet land, we cannot fail to mention Soviet citizens of Polish origin. The USSR has a very kindly attitude toward the initiative in creating in this milieu amateur art collectives with a Polish repertoire and a Polish book and cinema lovers' club. This year we expect Soviet citizens of Polish origin to take part in our events and meetings.

[Slakowski] Before our talk I met with representatives of several of the institutions which are implementing the tasks stemming from the declaration. Their opinion is the same: We are making rapid headway, any initiative is meeting with understanding, kindness, and support, and Soviet people are coming halfway to meet us in everything.

[Glowczyk] I am glad this feeling prevails and that the "grass roots" do not keep looking back at the "upper echelons." Much depends on that. The declaration expresses a political will, it imparts impetus, and defines avenues. But in life everything depends on people, collectives, and institutions on both sides of the Bug. Today's results confirm the dynamic development of Polish-Soviet relations. These dynamics are also stimulated by the fact that, as W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, has said, "our method of approach, our political thinking and philosophy of action formulated at the 9th and 10th PZPR congresses coincide with the CPSU's line."

Romania To Reconsider MFN Status With U.S.

PM011621 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "AGERPRES Statement"]

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Feb—The Romanian Government has announced that it does not wish to extend its most favored nation status in trade with the United States if the Jackson-Vanik Amendment is maintained and that, in its turn, it will be studying the problems of granting the United States most favored nation status in its trade with Romania, customs duties and tariffs, and other privileges accorded U.S. imports to Romania. This was emphasized in an AGERPRES statement circulated here today in connection with the U.S. Government decision to suspend Romania's most favored nation status beginning 3 July.

The sides had accorded one another most favored nation status in line with a Romanian-U.S. agreement on trade relations, the document points out. Romania fully honored its pledges stemming from this agreement. The United States, on the other hand, citing the Jackson-Vanik amendment which had been approved on a unilateral basis, annually linked the granting of this status to a series of political demands which represented intolerable interference in Romanian internal affairs and had absolutely nothing to do with Romanian-U.S. trade relations.

In view of this, Romania has informed the U.S. Government that henceforth it will not consent to an extension of most favored nation status if the Jackson-Vanik Amendment is maintained and requested the start of talks on developing economic relations in line with the provisions of the existing trade agreement with no conditions attached.

BCP Members Favor New Approach to Restructuring

PM011033 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent L. Zhmyrev under the rubric "Fraternal Parties' Life": "Open Dialogue"]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Feb—The restructuring which is being implemented in the BCP and which was consolidated by the decisions of the national party conference has caused increased activity among Bulgarian Communists. This is eloquently demonstrated by the following data: During the recent report and election campaign in the BCP the opinions of 224,000 Communists, or nearly one in four, were sought. They submitted more than 113,000 specific observations and proposals.

In their speeches Communists said that restructuring demands broader democracy, glasnost, and freedom of debate. The old approach—"consulting the leadership"—must be resolutely abandoned, along with the practice of working in fits and starts, propaganda ballyhoos, and formal labels. It was pointed out that ideological work in the BCP at the present stage must be built on the foundations of respect for and trust of the opponent and consideration of the whole range of opinions and moods in the party and the masses. It will require considerable psychological restructuring of leaders who have gotten used to issuing commands without consulting the aktiv.

As Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, told journalists recently, restructuring in the BCP means, among other things, making greater demands on party cadres. In the course of an open, direct dialogue between the party and the masses at numerous meetings in primary organizations it was repeatedly said that there are currently many BCP members who are essentially indistinguishable from nonparty people. They do not pass the restructuring test, they are passive, incapable of vigorous, creative action, and sometimes simply act as a brake.

Qualitative changes in socialist society, the BCP national conference decision points out, depend on a high degree of public consciousness, new political thinking, and a favorable ideological and moral climate. The party's ideological and practical organizational work during the preparations for the next congress—the 14th congress, which is due to be held in 1991—is geared to attaining these goals.

West Europe

Finnish Presidential Inauguration Held

LD011550 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Helsinki March 1 TASS—TASS correspondent N. Gorbunov reports:

Mauno Koivisto was today sworn in as president of the Republic of Finland for another term of six years. He was elected to the highest state post during the elections held on February 15.

Speaking at the swearing-in ceremony, speaker of Finland's parliament Matti Ahde noted that president's most important task under the country's Constitution is the implementation of the foreign policy. Addressing Mauno Koivisto, he said: "Six years ago you declared that your main care is a steady observance of the foreign policy line charted by Presidents Juho Kusti Paasikivi and Urho Kaleva Kekkonen. You have achieved success in implementing this task. The international sitaution of Finland has become still more stable due to goodneighborliness based on the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Finland, due to the cooperation of Nordic countries, the development of the process of European security.

Speaking, in reply, Mauno Koivisto said, in part: "The world has changed, Finland has changed, but the foundations of our existence and development remain the same. We live surrounded with friendly peoples. Our friendship with neighbours strengthened still more. Our interest in matters of verified reduction and elimination of armaments in Nordic regions has grown, too. We act with inspiration at many forums in favour of the improvement of international understanding and consolidation of our own security."

On the same day, Mauno Koivisto received in the Presidential Palace members of government, as well as heads of diplomatic representations accredited in Finland. On their behalf the president was greeted by doyen of the diplomatic corps, USSR Ambassador to Finland Vladimir Sobolev.

U.S. Reportedly Building Missile Base in FRG

LD011446 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Bonn March 1 TASS—The United States military have begun the construction of a new missile base on the territory previously occupied by artillery and tank munition depots in Michelstadt (Odenwald, Hesse).

A statement by Odenwald Peace Forum, a local public group, says eleven new buildings are to be erected there to store and service missiles and missile warheads.

The old depots were used to store mortar and tank-gun shells, chemical weapons and conventionally armed missiles.

U.S. Military Delegation Visits Portugal

LD020230 Moscow in Portuguese to Portugal 2100 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] A U.S. military delegation led by General Charles Brown arrived in Lisbon today. The Pentagon's emissaries will have talks with Portuguese Government officials on widening military cooperation. Our observer Yuriy Konstantinov writes:

Three days after Prime Minister Cavaco Silva's return from Washington where he had talks with high officials of the U.S. Administration, a special envoy of Pentagon chief Frank Carlucci has arrived in Lisbon. While on the other side of the Atlantic, according to Cavaco Silva himself, the talks were in the nature of formal consultations, now in Lisbon Gen Charles Brown will hold specific talks on a substantial increase of U.S. arms supplies to Portugal. As was stated in the United States, these supplies are payment for the continuing use by the Pentagon of the important Lajes strategic base in the Azores.

What, then, has become of the payment in dollars upon which Cavaco Silva insisted shortly before his official visit to the U.S. capital? All signs are that Washington decided that the Portuguese Government could wait a while longer for that assistance—quote, unquote—and the Portuguese prime minister had to resign himself to his partner's promises to study the question in detail.

It is thus obvious that, for the moment, primacy is being given to U.S. supplies of war materiel, including the Pentagon's cast-off frigates. Western observers rightly point out that Washington was not all that concerned at Lisbon's demarches to secure a review of the Lajes base leave payment terms. As pointed out by the FINANCIAL TIMES, Washington is well aware that such demarches do not amount to much, for it knows full well how intent the Social Democrat government is in maintaining the U.S. military presence in the Azores; and, indeed, not just in maintaining but actually expanding it, as Cavaco Silva—to applause from the White House—deemed it necessary to stress at a meeting with journalists in Washington.

Hence comes the arrival in Lisbon, without further ado, of Gen Charles Brown at the head of a military delegation. The U.S. intention to substantially increase arms supplies to its ally relates not just to the Lajes base lease but also to the plans to build a space targets tracking station in Almodovar which will be an important component of Washington's Star Wars program. The Pentagon wishes the construction of the tracking station to begin as soon as possible.

The recent visit to the United States by the Portuguese head of government and the present trip to Lisbon by Gen Charles Brown show how the present government's foreign policy toes the Washington line. Besides, the Portuguese Government makes no secret of the fact. In the meantime the interests of Portugal's security are disregarded. No amount of dollar aid and arms supplies from the United States can make up for the threat posed to the country by the foreign military presence and by Portugal's participation in Washington's militaristic programs.

CPSU Delegation Returns From Portugal

PM020849 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, which attended the Seventh Congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party, returned to Moscow from Lisbon 23 February.

Chirac Holds News Conference on Foreign Policy

LD011522 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Paris March 1 TASS—The French nuclear force should not be taken into account at Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks, French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, a presidential hopeful, told a news conference here today, which dealt with foreign policy problems.

He reiterated a commitment to the "nuclear deterrence" policy and rejected a "third-zero option" solution for Europe.

The French head of government admitted that the five-year military buildup program endorsed last year provided for "unprecedented efforts to modernize" the French Armed Forces.

Chirac called at the same time for maintaining "friendly" relations with the Soviet Union. These relations, however, should not, in his words, prompt doubts about the French "nuclear deterrence" policy and "solidarity with the allies".

Answering a question about the situation in the Middle East, in particular in Israeli-occupied Arab territories, the French prime minister called for an international conference for settling the conflict in the region.

Attempts to overcome the crisis either by preserving the situation as it is or by applying force will not resolve the existing problems, according to Chirac.

French Inclusion in NATO Session Highlighted

LD012202 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A NATO Council session at the level of heads of state and government opens tomorrow in Brussels. What is France going to bring to that conference? Anatoliy Potapov reports from Paris:

[Potapov] This press conference was announced suddenly; it had not been planned.

We will not delve into the reasons for another quarrel in the higher echelons of the French leadership. Only real and specific facts point out what France is going to bring to the NATO conference in Brussels. Official Paris is far from intending to give up increasing the nuclear arsenal. In the framework of the Fr500 billion military program, the siting of new nuclear missiles is being envisaged, in particular of the U.S. Pershing-2 class—precisely the type which is to be scrapped in Europe in accordance with the Washington treaty. Now, it is being planned to bring the number of nuclear charges up to 1,000 by the year 2000. Preparations have been completed for the production of neutron weapons.

On the eve of the Brussels summit, new facts pointing to France's stepped-up cooperation with the NATO military organization, of which it is not a participant, have emerged. Thus, for the first time since France left the NATO military organization, U.S. infantry maneuvers have been held in central France. French television reported this fact without any comment.

It appears that official Paris has embarked on the dangerous path of nuclear militarization and is heading for Brussels with that baggage. It will soon—probably this week—become clear whether the conflict at the top of the French power hierarchy has had an effect on France's position in NATO, or, whether, as the press claims, the clashes only concern domestic policies.

French Source Cited on NATO Summit Expectations

PM011629 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko interview with unnamed Elysee Palace source in Paris under the rubric "Keeping Ahead of Events": "What Does Paris Expect From the NATO Council Session?"; first two paragraphs and last paragraph are introduction and conclusion respectively]

[Text] French President F. Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac will be taking part in the NATO Council session to be held in Brussels on 2-3 March.

The newspapers are saying that this is the first time the French president has taken part in a NATO summit meeting. Is this further evidence that France intends to strengthen its military ties with the bloc as well as its political ties? In order to clarify the situation, I approached a high-ranking figure close to the Elysee Palace (the presidential residence), who agreed to answer my questions but asked that his name not be given.

[Kovalenko] What is the significance of this "grand premiere," as one Parisian newspaper described F. Mitterrand's forthcoming participation in the NATO Council session?

[Interviewee] The president will be going to Brussels because he attaches great significance to disarmament issues and considers the forthcoming session exceptionally important. He will set out France's position in the speech he is now preparing.

[Kovalenko] Could you perhaps tell us what this position is?

[Interviewee] France welcomed the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and would like to see further progress made in the disarmament sphere with regard to strategic, conventional, and chemical weapons. We intend to contribute to this progress.

[Kovalenko] A number of observers, including in the Soviet Union, are predicting that France will return to the NATO military organization....

[Interviewee] This is quite out of the question. The president has explained our stand on this issue. France will not be returning to the NATO military organization. But it does take part in the bloc's political activity.

[Kovalenko] What do you expect from the Brussels meeting?

[Interviewee] NATO must develop a clear stand on disarmament issues. What should its long-term strategy be? Does the alliance have a reliable deterrence concept? These questions will be discussed at the Brussels session, and France intends to set out its own approach.

[Kovalenko] Paris seems to be against the idea of the "third-zero option"—the elimination of tactical nuclear missiles?

[Interviewee] We do not think that this question can be the subject of discussion at present. France is waiting to see what proposals are made concerning the "third-zero option" at the Soviet-American talks.

[Kovalenko] All the signs are there that France is going to strengthen its military cooperation with the NATO countries....

[Interviewee] I repeat, we are not members of the integrated military command although we are in favor of expanding military cooperation with Western countries, particularly the FRG. This was the point of signing the protocol to the Elysee Accord in Paris on 22 January 1988. (In particular it envisages the formation of a French-West German defense and security council—Yu.K]. This kind of cooperation with West European states must be developed. It is now a question of making this cooperation more dynamic.

[Kovalenko] Can we expect disarmament proposals from France in the near future?

[Interviewee] France has already expressed its agreement in principle with the main trends in the disarmament sphere to which the USSR and the United States are committed. It is in favor of this process continuing.

This interview once again confirms that statements of approval for the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the desire to see "further progress in the disarmament sphere" are combined in France with a reluctance to renounce nuclear weapons, even partially, and increased activity on the military integration front.

Benelux Studies Joint Military Unit

LD011236 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Brussels March 1 TASS—Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg have decided to study the possibility of setting up a joint military unit which will be attached to the NATO Command in central Europe.

The decision, taken at a meeting of the three countries' defense ministers here, is described as being part of a "search for new forms of cooperation" within Benelux.

Greece Protests to U.S. Over Navy Incident

LD011252 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Athens March 1 TASS—The Greek Government has protested against the attack by U.S. Navy men at Greek citizens. The protest was lodged over the incidents that took place last week and concerned the ship "Saturn" of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Greek port of Iraklion in the Crete island.

As has already been reported, a demonstration of the peace movement activists was staged in Iraklion where the U.S. ship arrived. The appearance of the uninvited "guest" which, as newspapers reported, delivered weapons for a U.S. base in Greek territory sparked off outrage among the residents of the city. Seamen from the "Saturn" reponded by pouring water on the marchers from fire-pumps and pelting them with heavy objects, injuring four persons.

Yannis Roubatis, an official government spokesman, said that in conjunction with this incident a representative of the U.S. Embassy was summoned to the Greek Foreign Ministry where a verbal note expressing protest against the attack by the U.S. seamen at Greek citizens was conveyed to him. The note simultaneously rejects the protest by the United States which tried to accuse the Greek side of the incident.

Political & Social

Latest on Armenia, Azerbaijan Protests

Azerbaijan 'Refugees' to Return

*NC011829 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1715 GMT 1 Mar 88*

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee reports that a republican commission has been created to help refugees [gachkin] of Azerbaijani nationality who live in the Armenian SSR to return to their permanent place of residence. The commission is headed by Gasan Gasanov, secretary of the Central committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.

The commission has held a meeting at which it defined as its major tasks the ascertainment of the number of refugees and their present whereabouts, as well as their organized return to the towns and villages of Soviet Armenia. The commission [words indistinct] that, on the basis of an agreement with the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, the persons who have come from Armenia will be met at the border of the two republics by Armenian party and Soviet representatives. The latter have been given the task of (?settling) these persons in their permanent place of residence. The commission announces that the persons in question may travel by air, rail, or automobile as they choose. The necessary conditions for the comfortable travel of [word indistinct] vehicles on the roads, and the problems of food and medical assistance confronting the travellers will be solved.

All raykoms and gorkoms, as well as gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms on Azerbaijani territory where the refugees are staying have been instructed to receive these persons, (?meet their needs), and settle all of their problems connected with their return to the Armenian SSR in an organized manner.

Refugees currently in Baku city who wish to travel by rail are requested to report using the following telephone numbers by midnight tonight, 1 March 1988: 92-55-10; 92-45-84; 92-19-91. The number to use after midnight to 0900 on 2 March 1988 is 92-23-71. These numbers can be used throughout 2 March to obtain information on available road transport and all other questions regarding travel by the refugees.

The "Screen of the Day" news program of the republican television will provide information to the refugees on departure points and times.

Officials Tour Baku Enterprises

*NC020626 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 2 Mar 88*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, have toured a number of Baku enterprises and establishments during a visit to Azerbaijan. They acquainted themselves with production, visited shops, and chatted with workers and technicans, expressing interest in their work and living problems and in the extent to which workers' collectives are utilizing the rights granted by the Law on the State Enterprises union [dovlett muessesesi birligi hakkinda kanun] in the settlement of economic and social questions.

The working people of these multinational collectives spoke of their unanimous approval of the appeal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the working people and populace of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Meetings were held with teachers and students of the Azerbaijan Kirov state university, scientific workers of the Azerbaijan academy of sciences, and workers of a number of establishments and (?communal) administrations. Comrades Razumovskiy and Demichev talked with eminent Azerbaijani scientists about the (?important position of Soviet scientists) in perestroyka policies, the [words indistinct] in the community, and the task of strengthening the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

Azerbaijanis Assured of Safety

*NC020709 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 2 Mar 88*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Azerbaijanis who have come to our republic from Armenia led by various rumors and fabrications [words indistinct] have been received at the Central Committee of the Azerbaijani Communist Party. Responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee and the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee have carefully heard their wishes and critical remarks. They were informed that the Central Committees of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Communist Parties are closely following the development of the situation and are taking measures to ensure law and order and the safety of citizens.

Sumgait Disorders Ended

*NC020811 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 2 Mar 88*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers report that the disorders in Sumgait have stopped. Industrial, transport, trade, communal food, and [word indistinct] enterprises of the town are operating normally, and lessons are going on in educational establishments. [Sentence indistinct] Comrade Gasan Seidov, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, is now in Sumgait.

Trushin: Armenia 'Normal'

LD021333 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Remarks by Vasiliy Petrovich Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, I stayed in Armenia for several days on behalf of the (?Collegium) of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. During this period I visited a number of places and was acquainted with the genuine state of affairs. Toward the end of February, mass meetings took place in Yerevan and other cities, the working rhythm of enterprises was interrupted. Interruptions also occured in the work of transportation. The violations of the law which occured during that time did not exceed the level prevailing in recent years. At the same time, (?there were various rumors), all sorts of conjectures on allegedly illegal actions [protivopravnyye deyaniya] which infringed the interests of citizens, mostly of the Azerbaijani nationality.

A kind of uneasiness became evident (?in recent days). Some Azerbaijani families left the republic. This, no doubt, has made the situation worse in both Armenia and in Azerbaijan. Party and government bodies, labor collectives, public activists, and law enforcement bodies of Armenia have taken measures to exclude any opportunity for provocative actions and to create for people of all nationalities the necessary conditions for fruitful labor and peaceful leisure.

Comrades, I would like to assure you that the necessary public order is being ensured on the republic's territory. Enterprises are working, schools are opened, as are educational establishments and cultural (?establishments). Life is returning to normal. (?Families are returning) to their homes and are rejoining the working rhythm of their collectives.

We now face the following tasks: to strengthen discipline, law, and order and to affirm, as before, the atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding and the (?relations) of brotherhood between the Azerbaijan and Armenian peoples.

In response to the appeal by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the organs of internal affairs, steered by the party committees and local soviets, will do everything possible to ensure socialist legality and will reliably stand guard over [word indistinct] interests of Soviet citizens.

Thank you for your attention.

Kondratyev: Kafan 'Peaceful'

LD021332 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Remarks by Valentin Andreyevich Kondratyev, head of a section at the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The appeal by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan was greeted by them with Bolshevik attention and responsibility. I have just returned from Kafan. I met with many people. I saw with my own eyes that life is going on normally in the town—enterprises are in operation, schoolchildren are going to school. Life there is proceeding in exactly the same way as in our country as a whole. There is a peaceful and businesslike atmosphere there.

I had many [word indistinct] meetings with comrades and (?friendly) conversations. Much was said about issues deserving attention. They concern socioeconomic problems; they concern many problems associated with the life of the town, which trouble and affect everyone. There is no doubt that the gorkom, gorispolkom, and party organizations will have to work hard on these problems, these unresolved issues.

(?There are also such complex) problems that must be resolved. It is not by accident that this—as we all know, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that a Central Committee plenum is being prepared for this—that the party will examine a whole series of issues connected with relations among nationalities.

Before my trip to Kafan I happened to meet certain comrades who had come to Baku recently from that town, and I conversed with them. [passage indistinct] In the course of my meetings with comrades in Kafan, I saw again those comrades with whose (?families) I happened to have conversed. We had frank conversations. The comrades are reacting with understanding to the problems arising and troubling people. They have become convinced, especially in the last few days, [words indistinct] that there is a normal and peaceful life in the town.

I have only just returned from Kafan and I happened once again to meet with a number of comrades who are still here. I told them that yesterday [words indistinct] the people of Kafan returned to work and are working peacefully in the town. I only just finished talking to these comrades when in came Comrade (Nazarov) and Comrade (Azerkhanov), who had arrived from Kafan. I said to them: Comrades, haven't we met and conversed before? Yes? [words indistinct] They said: Yes we did indeed [words indistinct]. We have come for our families to tell them: Come on comrades, let's go back. Everything is peaceful back home. We must return to living and working normally.

I think that these comrades will now be able to tell you all that they have seen in Kafan. On this subject, I should like to stress, comrades, that the party and soviet authorities of the town of Kafan, as well as the republican authorities of both Armenia and Azerbaijan, are making every effort to return life to normal, so that our Soviet man can work normally and in peace. As for whether everything has been done to ensure this in the town of Kafan, I would like to assure you that it has and appeal to you—to those comrades who are still outside the town—to return to a normal and healthy life, to return to their families and with their families who had left. [passage indistinct]. All fears are groundless.

I call upon you comrades to return immediately with your families and involve yourselves in the great creative work being carried out by our Soviet people!

Several Dead in Sumgait

AU021445 Paris AFP in English 1426 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 2 (AFP)—Several people were killed in inter-ethnic clashes last Sunday in Sumgait, in the southern republic of Azerbaijan, an official said Wednesday.

The victims included "Armenians, Azerbaijanis and members of other ethnic groups," according to an official at the television station in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, contacted by telephone.

He said there were also some injuries, without specifying how many.

The situation was now "back to normal" in Sumgait, the official added, saying that people had resumed work in the troubled city. [passage omitted]

More Workers Favoring Gorbachev Appeal

LD011930 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] The events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding area show that serious questions of the fate of peoples must not be given over to the power of instinct and emotionalism. Everyone today, said Comrade Gorbachev, must display restraint and calm.

These words are finding reactions in interviews with working people of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR given to TASS correspondents. This is what was said, for example, by mechanical engineer of the Dzhulfa Locomotive Depot in the Nakhichevan ASSR, Comrade Bargisyan: The words in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's appeal to working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia about how the main thing now is to concentrate on overcoming the current situation, on solving specific economic, social, ecological, and other problems in the spirit of the policy of perestroyka and renewal being implemented in the country are especially close to the hearts of me and my workmates, to people of various nationalities.

In the existing situation rashness must not be manifested; unthought-out solutions must not be taken. It is essential to avoid tension and excesses. At the Dzhulfa Locomotive Depot where I work, there is perestroyka of the economic mechanism in progress. Speeding up the transport of important economic goods and getting them to the consumer in good time and in good condition—that is our main task, that is what we should be thinking about today first and foremost. After all, the time for reason and sober decisions has come.

Samedov, mechanizer of the Ordzhonikidze Grain Sovkhoz, Hero of Socialist Labor, and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijani SSR, noted: in my mechanized team there are Azerbaijanis, Ukrainians, Lezgins, and Moldavians working like natural brothers. We were all deeply disturbed by the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding area. Comrade Gorbachev is right to say that the most serious questions concerning the peoples' fates must not be given over to the power of instinct and emotionalism. Everyone today must display restraint and calm. Yes, we must bravely admit our blunders in internationalist upbringing. It requires purpose and constant attention. It must not be allowed to drift. Our concern for young people is to bring them up with specific examples of internationalism, in the traditions of Akhundov and Abovyan, by the example of the glorious Baku commissars, by the example and traditions of our multinational labor collectives.

'Centuries-Long Friendship'

PM021037 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Time for Sober Solutions"]

[Text] The most important thing at the moment is to concentrate on overcoming the prevailing situation and tackling the specific economic, social, ecological, and other problems that have accumulated in Azerbaijan and Armenia in the spirit of the policy of restructuring and renewal. This thesis was proclaimed in M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to working people and to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

TASS correspondents have been interviewing working people in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR.

A. Asriyan, war and labor veteran:

One cannot help talking about what is worrying and preoccupying us today. M.S. Gorbachev's appeal has made us assume an even greater responsibility for the fate of our socialist internationalism and for the strengthening of friendship and fraternity between the

Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. We, the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh, support it and share the concern about the situation that is expressed in it. We must spare neither effort nor energy to ensure order and normalize life in the oblast.

I want to say most earnestly that we want friendship and good-neighborly relations with the Azerbaijani people with whom we have lived side by side from time immemorial. It is the only way. After all, we are living in a multinational country. Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ukrainians, Georgians—they are all brothers.

S. Aliyeva, link leader on the B.O. Abbasov Sovkhoz, Hero of Socialist Labor (Azerbaijan SSR):

It is a busy time for farmers. The foundation is being laid for the harvest of the 3d year of the 5-year plan. There is plenty to do and the mood is cheerful and industrious. But in recent days the events taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh have entered our lives and our thoughts.

Of course, I do not believe and will never believe that the centuries-long friendship between two neighbors and brother-peoples could break up. All members of the link I am in charge of are unanimous on this. I am hurt and offended by all those who do not heed the voice of reason.

We found confirmation of our thoughts in the appeal by M.S. Gorbachev which we heard at the field camp. It was well said: Calm and good sense are the best counsel in the situation that has arisen.

We are a great community called the Soviet people, and we have one homeland—the USSR. Our chief trait is confidence in the future.

V. Melkonyan, section foreman at the Idzhevan wood-processing combine (Armenian SSR):

The products of the Idzhevan wood-processing combine are used not only in construction projects in Armenia, they are well known in Azerbaijan too.

For decades our Idzhevanskiy Rayon has had strong links of friendship with Kazakhskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan SSR. We often visit one another, so we are well acquainted with life and work there and people's joys and concerns. Many problems have accumulated in Armenia and in Azerbaijan, as M.S. Gorbachev's appeal rightly says.

Our combine's collective made a good start at the beginning of the year and has supplied construction workers with everything they require in good time. But the events of recent days have created certain difficulties in terms of the sucessful fulfillment of targets. Is there any sense in our hindering the solution of vital and important tasks by kindling discord and distrust between the peoples? It would be better to maintain the traditions of friendship and through shock labor and discipline contribute what we can to the implementation of the housing program.

M. Suvaryan, director of the Aknashenskiy Sovkhoz in Echmiadzinskiy Rayon and candidate of agricultural sciences:

Our sovkhoz specializes in the production of vegetables, grapes, and geraniums. The number one task at the moment is to waste no time in transplanting the seedlings into hotbeds.

The high level of labor enthusiasm is reinforced not only by concern for the harvest, but also by belief in people, in the wisdom of the party, in its fair and objective approach to the examination of questions of the nationalities policy in conditions of glasnost and democracy. The guarantee of this is M.S. Gorbachev's appeal which was received with understanding and support by the republic's working people.

The great, harmonious family of the Soviet peoples is October's unfading gain. Its main asset is genuine internationalism. Let us continue to strengthen our fraternal unity through conscientious labor, trust, and mutual respect.

Writers' Union Chief Karpov on Armenia Concern

PM021231 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Unified, Multinational"]

[Text] A USSR Writers' Union Board plenum opened in Moscow 1 March. V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board, delivered the report "The Improvement of National Relations, Restructuring, and the Tasks of Soviet Literature." He analyzed the work of writers' organizations and trends in the development of multinational literature at the contemporary stage.

The first secretary spoke of outstanding events in the literary life of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Baltic region, the Transcaucasus, and Moldavia. He drew attention to the fact that writers in all republics are making an in-depth analysis of problems in the development of national culture and mother tongues.

There is increased attention to propaganda of the literatures of the USSR's fraternal peoples and to the problems of international education and the creative mutual enrichment of cultures. Much has been done in this sphere. We are proud of the successes of the Soviet school of translation. However, the processes of democratization and glasnost demand closer attention to this work. The speaker advanced a proposal to convene an all-union translators' conference to discuss urgent issues.

The speaker emphasized that the desire of writers in all republics to take an active part in renewing the life of society has injected a dose of current affairs concerns into creative activity and increased the intensity of the struggle to strengthen socialist ideals.

Soviet patriotism is the revolution's greatest gain and our greatest asset. It decisively rules out any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, V.V. Karpov emphasized. Nationalities policy at the contemporary stage is a complex issue requiring careful study in all its aspects. The writer's word, his political maturity, and his understanding of the essence of internationalism are very important here.

At the Writers' Union yesterday, the speaker pointed out, we met with plenum participants who have come from Azerbaijan and Armenia. They asked us to report that the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast demands a sober, balanced approach, profound understanding of the history of national and state building and of the socioeconomic and cultural ties which have taken shape, and regard for the vital interests both of the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and of the country as a whole. Hasty conclusions and statements only harm inter-nation relations and the whole cause of restructuring and democratization in the life of our society.

M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia must help to resolve the situation that has been created—it is the voice of the party, the voice of all the Soviet republics anxiously living through what has happened.

After the report a debate began.

Yu.P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations are participating in the plenum's work.

Demichev Addresses Education Meeting in Armenia

LD210315 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 20 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] There was a meeting in Moscow today of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission of National Education and Culture.

[Correspondent K. Grigoryeva, identified by screen caption] The agenda contained just one matter: how the main guidelines for reforming national education is being fulfilled in Armenia. Back last autumn, the Supreme Soviet commission was at work in the republic, and today's address by Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, was to a considerable degree a response to the conclusions of the deputies.

Yes, a total of 1.2 million persons are studying in Armenia—that is one out of every three inhabitants. Indeed the republic has shown, for example, an attitude of respect toward children's creativity, by the creation of the country's first aesthetic center of child education. In the republic as nowhere else families are stable and there is a caring attitude toward national culture.

However, these are the facts characterizing the present state of schools, vocational and technical colleges and higher educational establishments in the republic. They were cited by Bokareva, a teacher and a member of the commission. She said that one out of five schools and over a half of the vocational and technical colleges and technical schools are housed in cramped premises. Even under the plan only half of what is required will be built during the 12th 5-Year Plan period. Annually, about 4,000 children drop out of school and the level of knowledge of school graduates has been shown to be below average by a check on those with excellent ratings.

Only one third of the schools are provided with hot meals. Over seven percent of graduates from vocational and technical colleges cannot get work in their speciality. Money is being allocated to the building of higher educational establishments and then is not being assimilated for years.

[Yagodin] After all, these resources will not be utilized anywhere. This is money that has been wasted amid conditions of such a grave shortage. How can we not be ashamed?

[Demichev] There are 2,280 teachers without apartments. They have been on the waiting list for 15 years now. How is the situation now?

[Sarkisyan] We have made a special decision, and in the next few years the issue of providing teachers with apartments will be solved.

[Fedoseyev] You have cowsheds built from lumps of ore, and yet it would seem there are not enough materials or funds for schools.

[Grigoryeva] The questions being put to the spokesman for the republic's council of ministers all the time increased, although, as each of the speakers admitted, the state of education in Armenia is, alas, typical of the whole country. Many of our initiatives, including the 6-year schools, computerization and productive work at school, have not yet been provided for materially. Have we not been premature in introducing compulsory secondary education even for those who through health or development are not in a condition to receive it? [passage omitted]

A general conclusion of the commission was that soviets of people's deputies must do everything possible to see that restructuring in schools does not at present lag behind the restructuring in the national economy.

Estonian Minister Attacks 'Extremist Circles'

LD101337 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—"Estonians are proud of the successes achieved by them as members of the family of Soviet nations", it was stated by Estonia's foreign minister Arnold Gren at a press conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen here today. "In the years of Soviet Government industrial output in this Baltic republic increased 55 times. This does not mean, however, that we do not have problems."

"Our public suggests that greater independence be given to the republic's economy viewing this as a way of accelerating its comprehensive development and increasing Estonia's contribution to the economy of the entire country", the minister stressed. "A competent commission has been set up to study these proposals and this is a natural manifestation of the present perestroyka in Soviet society."

"Perestroyka has also spread to the spiritual sphere. The Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party and the government of the republic adopted recently a decision directed at promoting the knowledge of both Estonian and Russian in the republic. New study programmes are now being prepared for secondary schools and establishments of higher learning. Their aim is to enhance a more effective study of the culture, literature and history of the Estonian and other peoples of the Soviet Baltic region".

The minister also dwelt on other aspects of developing the Estonian culture and language. In this connection he drew attention to attempts by extremist circles to fan up nationalistic sentiments using various dates in history as a pretext. Thus, actions by small groups involving a total of up to a thousand persons were organised on February 2 which was the 68th anniversary of the conclusion of a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and the bourgeois Estonian republic. These actions developed into violations of public order. Hooligans were sentenced to ten days of detention for smashing shop windows and other offences. "This is the course of action taken in any country but the foreign 'radio voices' (Free Europe, Voice of America, etc.) are trying to exaggerate the scope of these actions and to present the hooligans as 'champions of Estonia's independence'", the minister said.

On February 24 nationalistic elements are preparing to "mark" the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Estonian bourgeois republic. "But no such republic existed then", Arnold Gren said. "The territory of Estonia was occupied by German troops".

The minister said that under the shingle of assistance to "political prisoners" some foreign emigre centres are sending money for the upkeep of nationalistic extremists who do not work anywhere. "In Estonia today only two persons are serving sentences for anti-state activities," the minister said. "It is hardly for them that these centres collected 30,000 roubles last year." He stressed that "the working people of Estonia demand that those who are fanning up national discord be called to order."

Lithuanian Minister Holds News Conference

LD152339 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Feb (TASS)—Vladislovas Mikuchyauskas, foreign minister of Soviet Lithuania, has described U.S. President Reagan's call for 16 February to be "celebrated" as the proclamation of the "independence" of bourgeois Lithuania as another political provocation. He was speaking here today at a news conference which was attended by Soviet journalists and their colleagues from the CSSR, PPR, Great Britain, United States, GDR and Sweden who are accredited in the USSR.

The U.S. President's proclamation, the minister emphasized, is geared toward those who do not know the historical facts. On 16 February 1918 Lithuania found itself under the heel of the kaiser's army. The proclamation of the bourgeois Tariba (soviet) of the "Act of Independence" was essentially a political farce. In the hands of the Tariba there was not and could not have been either territory or state power.

Replying to a British correspondent's question about the events of February 1918, Mikuchyauskas said: "I recommend that you look up the 'American Encyclopedia,' published in the United States, regarding the fact of the 'Act of Independence.' It says quite clearly: 'This proclamation was a purely nominal one, for the proclamation envisaged a German protectorate, and it placed Lithuania in the situation of a German domain.'"

It is only in the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples that Lithuania, whose population does not exceed 4 million, has become a truly sovereign and prosperous republic, said Antanas Merchaytis, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Gosplan. He reported that the republic's industry today produces industrial output nearly 80 times more than in 1940. The export of Lithuanian production to 90 countries of the world testifies to its prestige. Whereas before World War II 95 percent of Lithuanian exports were taken up by agricultural production, today these comprise machine-tools, instruments and computer ware.

Replying to a question by journalists about the national composition of the republic, the foreign minister stressed that "It has remained stable for the last 40 years. Eighty percent of the republic's population is indigenous. So the U.S. President's 'concern', brought about by the supposedly violent Russification of the Lithuanian people, is, to put it mildly, hypocrisy."

In reply to a Swedish correspondent's question about the correlation of the teaching in Lithuanian schools of the native and the Russian language, the minister reported that instruction is given in Lithuanian in the republic's higher educational establishments and schools. Only 15 percent of pupils in Lithuania's secondary schools are taught in Russian and 2 percent in Polish. But the study of the Lithuanian language is compulsory for them.

The Western correspondent's attention was also drawn to a falsification spread by "Radio Vatican." This concerns a certain appeal to the Lithuanian population to hold public prayers in Catholic churches on 16 February, which was supposedly signed by 10 Lithuanian priests and several other citizens. Edvardas Yuozenas, a spokesman for the Council for Religious Affairs, told journalists in this connection that facts quoted by the radiostation do not correspond with reality. "The majority of the priests," he said, "were amazed when they heard that "Radio Vatican" had quoted them without their knowledge, and that the names of a number of other ministers they mention simply do not appear in the lists of the Catholic eparchy."

Auditing Commission Views February Plenum

LD190029 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)—"The February (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which examined progress in restructuring secondary and higher education and the tasks regarding its implementation, was an important event in the life of the party and the country." This was stated by Ivan Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, who spoke at today's meeting of the Commission.

"The vivid and substantive speech at the plenum by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, posed pressing tasks for the party's ideological work in the present stage," Ivan Kapitonov emphasized. "The speech was mainly devoted to such fundamental problems as providing ideological support for restructuring, further improving our society's political system, and enhancing the party's role as its nucleus."

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission chairman noted that the detailed report by Yegor Ligachev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had profoundly analyzed progress in carrying out the reform of national education, summed up its initial results, and outlined the ways to deepen the reform under conditions of restructuring, an acceleration of socio-economic development, the democratization of society, and an expansion of glasnost.

The participants in the meeting discussed the results of the commission's work in 1987 and its tasks for the current year. The rapporteur and speakers stressed the need in the present stage of restructuring to consolidate and further develop the positive changes that are occurring in auditing work and to fill the work with fresh content. The meeting approved the plan for the activities of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission in 1988.

Ryzhkov, Yakovlev Visit Education Exhibition

PM020839 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Exhibition Visit"]

[Text] On 20 February N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the exhibition "Technical Teaching Aids, Instruments, and Equipment for Higher and Secondary Schools," organized in the course of preparing for the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum.

With them were N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Yu.P. Batalin, I.S. Belousov, and B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The exhibition, which has been mounted at the USSR National Economic Achievements Exhibition, displays models of technical teaching aids, computer technology, laboratory teaching equipment, instruments, furniture, and aids used in secondary schools, vocational and technical schools, and higher and secondary educational institutions and produced by the country's enterprises, as well as by some foreign firms.

It was pointed out that the technical equipment of the country's educational institutions does not meet modern demands and that such equipment is produced in insufficient volumes. The requirement of secondary schools for technical teaching aids, instruments, and equipment is satisfied by 38 percent, that of vocational and technical schools and technical colleges by 60-65 percent, and that of VUZ's by 45-50 percent.

Questions of equipping the country's educational institutions, particularly VUZ's, with computer facilities and personal computers are being resolved extremely slowly. USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR Ministry of Education, and USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education enterprises producing specialized teaching equipment, instruments, and visual aids are being developed poorly. The USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab, and sector ministries and departments devote insufficient attention to questions of the technical equipment of the country's educational institutions.

At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum particularly emphasizes the need to implement large-scale measures to strengthen the material and technical base of public education and carry out its technical reequipment. A breakthrough to a new quality of education is only possible given the whole people's attention to the needs of secondary and higher schools.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the USSR Ministry of Education, and the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education have been set the task of pooling their efforts to develop and produce teaching equipment, involving collectives of VUZ's, technical colleges, vocational and technical schools, and schools in this work, and recognizing the need to develop production of teaching equipment at VUZ experimental enterprises and in technical college and school production training workshops.

The experience of the "Praktika" Production Association in the Lithuanian SSR merits very real support and dissemination.

Leaders of sector ministries and departments must pay serious attention to their inadequate involvement in developing and producing technical teaching aids for public education. Deliveries of computer facilities, optical, radio-measuring, and other instruments, technical teaching aids, and laboratory teaching, electrotechnical, and modern machine tool and other technological equipment to VUZ's have to be expanded in a very short time.

V.A. Grigoryev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; USSR Ministers G.A. Yagodin and S.G. Shcherbakov; A.P. Dumachev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments participated in the exhibition visit and in the discussion of problems of the technical equipment of educational institutions.

Supreme Soviet Decrees Award to Shcherbitskiy

LD161539 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Feb 88

[Text] We have received a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the award of the Order of Lenin to Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. This is in recognition of his great services to the Communist Party and Soviet state and on his 70th birthday.

Official on Employment in Moldavia

LD211352 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 21 Feb 88

[Text] Kishinev, 21 Feb (TASS)—"As a result of a reduction in the administrative apparatus in Soviet Moldavia the number of ministries and departments will have been reduced by 40 percent by the end of the year, and the numbers of people employed in them by 50 percent. There will also be a significant reduction in industrial production personnel." Petr Yakubovskiy, chairman of the republic's State Committee for Labor, told a TASS correspondent.

"We were ready," he added, "for the restructuring of economic administration to cause problems regarding employment and the population's placement in work. The industrial enterprises are to a great extent tackling these issues themselves by introducing additional shifts and by setting up new production facilities. However there is not always success in providing jobs at the same production unit to all the redundant people. For them the republic has set up a well-developed system to regulate labor transfers."

The system covers Moldavia's whole territory including its rural areas. Labor emplacement offices are closely connected with the local soviets. They receive timely information of all vacancies, and a person has the opportunity to choose something to his liking.

At present a particular shortage of workers is being felt in Moldavia in construction, whose rate of development is constantly increasing, and also in the services sphere. Petr Yakubovskiy noted that while approximately 1 million people are now employed in industrial production, there are only about 150,000 employed in trade and consumer services. In order to rectify this situation it is planned to transfer 15 percent of those working from industry to the services sphere. In other words, it is planned to double the number of people employed in the services sphere. Cooperatives too are playing an important role in tackling the problem of employment. To date more than 600 cooperatives have been created in Moldavia, and their number is growing rapidly.

"Many of those at present seeking work are wishing to change their vocation or to raise their qualifications," Petr Yakubovskiy said. "Retraining centers have been created for them and are attached to the labor emplacement offices. The classes of the vocational and technical colleges serve as a base for the centers."

Correspondent Views Local Drug Abuse Problem

PM291039 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Anatoliy Grachev "Own Correspondent's Column": "Drugs"]

[Text] Makhachkala-Ordzhonikidze-Nalchik-Groznyy—Here are some depressing figures: There are many, many hundreds of drug addicts in Dagestan, North Osetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, and Checheno-Ingushetia. And there are many juveniles among them. These hundreds are just the official figure for those addicted to the "fix" with the terrible consequences. How many more are unknown?

This unhealthy addiction is claiming more and more victims. Although in Dagestan, for instance, wild hemp is only found in places, the number of drug addicts there has increased by 111 in the past year. A 12-year-old schoolboy called Mamed was literally caught in the act of picking someone's pocket near the "Druzhba" movie theater in Makhachkala. He admitted to the militia: "I needed money to buy a hashish joint." It transpired that the kid was introduced to drugs by an older criminal. Last year 22 inhabitants of Dagestan were arrested stealing hemp in the fields of North Osetia.

What excuse is advanced by those inhabitants of Osetia who are caught red-handed? R. Ruboyev of Ordzhonikidze claimed that he had been sold 100 grams of drugs in Voronezh Oblast. There was nothing that G. Grigoryan could say: He was caught at night with two sacks of hemp. All told, 38 kg of raw drugs were confiscated in Osetia last year.

V. Bondarenko, minister of internal affairs in Kabardino-Balkaria, gave us a short interview:

"Let me quote some recent cases. The trial of the following citizens of Nalchik—nurse S. Khaupova, her lover V. Khadzhumov, and his brother A. Khadzhumov, who actively trade in hashish—has ended. The struggle against drug addiction is being waged in various directions. Whereas previously 22 farms in the republic grew hemp, now there are only 7. A special subunit has been set up. But, unfortunately, the number of drug addicts is not falling."

The situation in Checheno-Ingushetia is particularly alarming. There are not only more and more adult drug addicts in the area, but the number of underage addicts has doubled over the past year. Grade 7-8 students were noticed using drugs at School No. 5 in Groznyy. However, M. Sidenko, director of the school, rose to the defense of the teachers and incited the parents to obstruct militia workers: He claimed they were wrongfully accusing the kids...

The cancer of drug addiction has spread through entire collectives. Collectives, for instance, such as the chemistry and technology technical college, the state university, the petroleum institute, and the "Avtospetsoborudovaniye" Plant. Their leaders stubbornly cover for drug addicts, creating a semblance of well-being.

Nazranovskiy Rayon is notorious in Checheno-Ingushetia. Drug dealers feel safe in that area. Any kind of drug can easily be bought in the evening and at night on Sovetskaya Street in Nazran. The police at the Nazran Rayon Internal Affairs Department take a lenient view of this, and many of them have themselves become caught in the clinging web that is the drugs trade. The party raykom and rayispolkom have been ducking their responsibility for controlling the situation in the rayon.

The region where I work can be called the carrier of this terrible disease. In four autonomous republics those responsible for combating drug addiction are clutching their heads in despair, accusing the public of not helping them to eradicate the evil. There has been a stream of words and exhortations, and interregional plans and a strategic program for attacking drug addiction are being compiled. Operations "Poppy," "Hemp," and others are being carried out, and party obkoms and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers regularly receive alarming information...

But until we switch from words to resolute—even tough—measures, the contagion will draw more and more victims into its net. That is the view of workers at law enforcement organs and the republics' health ministries and gosagroproms. Nobody yet knows exactly just what these resolute and tough measures should be. It seems that we must put our heads together and find an answer.

Yet I remember the eyes of a mother from Groznyy who, finding her daughter Lenochka, a nurse, spaced out in a dubious apartment, looked at us in pain and confusion: "What's going on? Do something to help her, I beg you...."

TV Examines Election Rigging in Moldavia

LD012143 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1455 GMT on 1 March in its "Let Us Learn Democracy" program devotes the first half of the program to examining a "case of election rigging" in Moldavia last year.

After a brief introduction by commentator V.A. Makeyev on the results of last year's elections for local soviets, a video report from Moldavia is shown. An unidentified correspondent says, "This criminal case did not begin either yesterday or today. The events which preceded it occurred last summer. The day after elections for local soviets were held, Mariya (?Godya), a candidate for the Girovskiy Rural Soviet, Kalarashskiy Rayon, Moldavia complained to several levels of authority at once."

V.G. Bayrak, chairman of Kalarashskiy Rayispolkom, says: "It came to our attention that this had happened. A deputy had not gotten through, had not been selected in the ballot. The next day when we went there—our comrades—we stopped everything and exercised the commission's authority. The times and date for new elections were set. But we did not know the reason; we did not know what had happened: Whether it was rigging, the voters changing their minds, she was not put forward, or she was crossed off. But when it turned out that it was really the fault of the electoral commission, of the constituency commission, then we began checking it out."

Following a brief interview with a senior instructor present at the examination of the ballots, V.F. Mikitchin, secretary of Kalarashskiy Raykom, says: "On 7 May 1987 the matter of gross violations in a number of primary party organizations was examined. Thus, an assessment was made of the (?Onishkanskiy) Rural Soviet, where false minutes had been made for the nomination of candidate deputies. Nevertheless, no conclusions were drawn from this. Regarding the case which occurred in Girov, in the first place they took an unprincipled approach to the composition of electoral commissions. This was, of course, a mistake on the part of the primary party organization, in particular by the secretary, comrade (?Kipy), whose relatives were elected."

Mariya (?Godya) is then interviewed. She claims that she was prevented from becoming a deputy by the secretary of the sovkhoz party organization, and recounts further details of the events. The correspondent then interviews local residents who testify to what a fine deputy Mariya would have been. Ye.G. Bryazu, procurator of Kalarashskiy Rayon, explains the sections of the Criminal Code covering the crime. The correspondent concludes his report: "You must pay tribute to the principles of the procuracy of Kalarashskiy Rayon. The court sentenced electoral commission Chairman (?Gerbu) to 2 years suspended, with 20 percent of his wages deducted. He was excluded from the party. Other persons involved in this matter were also punished."

Y.A. Korolev, candidate of juridical sciences, then speaks in the studio to Makeyev regarding the moral lessons to be drawn from the case, noting the effect of glasnost and conditions of democratization in nominating candidates with fine moral qualities. Makeyev links the incident to last year's CPSU Central Committee censure of the work of the Moldavian party organization. Korolev rounds off the feature by stressing the need for honesty in Soviet democracy.

Academician Interviewed on Reform of Soviets

PM221321 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 88 Morning Edition pp 1-3

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Kurashvili by IZVESTIYA observer Yu. Feofanov under the rubric "19th Party Conference: Tasks of Restructuring: "Soviets: Return to Themselves"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] V.I. Lenin once noted: "... The poor cultural standard results in the soviets, which, according to their program, are organs of administration through the working people, being in actual fact organs of administration for the working people through the leading stratum of the proletariat, but not through the working masses." The cultural standard of our society has increased immeasurably. But has the soviets' actual situation changed as radically? And are such changes necessary? These questions are touched on in their talk by IZVESTIYA observer Yu. Feofanov and Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Kurashvili.

[Feofanov] The initiative for today's conversation is yours, Boris Pavlovich. You put the question quite sharply: Is a fundamental, in-depth restructuring of the activity of the soviets of people's deputies necessary? The following doubt immediately occurred to me: But is it a radical structuring which is needed? In wanting to "upturn everything" are you not proceeding along a path which was well worn even 2 years ago—the path of restructuring everything without fail, since we are talking about revolutionary transformations? You must agree that it is not only what has been around a long time which can be a cliche. Restructuring everything without fail whether it is necessary or not is a new stereotype of thinking. That the soviets' activity is in need of serious improvement—yes, of that I have no doubt. But constructing what is virtually a new building... I am not sure that that is necessary or possible.

[Kurashvili] You see, many attempts have already been made to improve the activity of our organs of power—with unvarying failure. The idea of radical restructuring therefore cannot fail to arise. I would describe the overall spirit of reform thus: the conservation of a number of specific features of the soviets which have been justified by historical experience and at the same time their combination with several aspects of the parliamentary representative system which are acceptable to us. Under present conditions this will make it possible to implement more fully Lenin's idea of administering not only "for the working people" but also "through the working people."

[Feofanov] The question arises: Why was this not done immediately when the necessary cultural level was reached? The personality cult? The period of stagnation? That is how everything is being explained now.

[Kurashvili] It isn't all that simple. Our society developed for a long time in extraordinary conditions. In the thirties we had to prepare the country at an accelerated rate for military invasion. In the forties that invasion had to be repelled and then the national economy had to be restored. An emergency system of administration was formed and functioned with its characteristic maximum concentration of power in the hands of the administration apparatus. To be more precise, in the hands of the supreme political leadership and the apparatus obedient to it. The main thing was not the personality cult but the conditions of survival of the emergency system of administration. In that system the soviets in fact fulfilled the role of an institution for approving and supporting state policy. An important role, but for the soviets a modest one. They become only a form of "the democracy of support."

[Feofanov] But now the following viewpoint is also being expressed: Although realities dictated the pace of industrialization and collectivization, much was unjustified and was dictated not so much by reality as by arbitrary pressure, by the desire to resolve economic problems at a stroke. But the state system was not subjected to the same breakup as the economy.

[Kurashvili] It was only its form which did not change. But the main thing—democracy—was excised from it. The apparatus usurped and crushed representation by the people, making it a screen for its own power.

In the fifties the emergency system of administration should have given way to a normal system, but because of historical inertia and to an even greater extent because of the inability of two generations of political leaders, it continued to keep afloat. It was mainly purged of blatant illegalities and brutality but it was not restructured. Its retrograde development began. Gradually disintegrating, deprived of its former strength and effectiveness, subjected to bureaucratic degeneration, the administration system became increasingly the main obstacle on the path of economic and sociopolitical progress. As a result the position of the soviets remained unchanged. Matters reached the point where, as M.S. Gorbachev noted at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, the elected organs were being increasingly belittled and subordinated to the administration apparatus; to a bureaucratized administration apparatus which had largely emerged from its former subordination to the political leadership and was wielding a "second power," so to speak. It was the stagnation and the as yet uneradicated "dual power" (not in the class sense but in the organizational sense) which emerged during the years of stagnation which became and remain one of the main elements of the "delaying mechanism." To break it it is necessary, together with other measures, to transform the soviets from a form of "democracy of support" into a form of "democracy of participation."

[Feofanov] Well, what is actually preventing the soviets now, with their present system, from becoming a form of what you call the "democracy of participation?" I know examples of soviets by no means following the apparatus' instructions obediently and of ispolkoms, expressing the deputies' will, entering into conflicts with powerful departments and winning the upper hand over them—I have in mind the defense of the interests of territories. This applies, for instance, to ecological problems, the siting of industrial establishments, the allocation of housing, and so forth. Yes, the organs of local power are still operating timidly. The territory's most fundamental problems are far from always raised at soviet sessions. It may even be said that as a rule they are not raised. But if a house has doors surely it is irrational to break holes in the walls and still more irrational to destroy the house?

[Kurashvili] Gratifying examples, as you yourself admit with understandable reluctance, are the exception, confirming the sad rule that the soviets depend on the bosses. If we use the image of the house then it is not a case of breaking it but of restoring it and extending it. The main thing is who is to live in the house, who is to be the owner and who the guest. At present the owner is the apparatus, while the deputy is the guest, albeit an honored one. They must exchange roles. And they must perhaps begin with the number of inhabitants.

Is there any point in raising a question in need of businesslike discussion at crowded forums? At present soviet sessions are more suited to meetings, ceremonies, and predetermined unanimous votes. After all, they frequently do not even have complete information and they are either hearing the report for the first time or see it the day before the session. The soviets have become broad collegiums unsuitable for the comprehensive discussion of questions or the taking of considered and responsible decisions. The numerical strength of the soviets virtually rules out the possibility of expressing and considering the opinions of all or nearly all deputies.

The USSR Supreme Soviet now consists of 1,500 deputies. Why not reduce them to 400-500? In the union republics the numerical strength of the soviets could perfectly well be limited to 100-150 deputies while numbers in an autonomous republic, kray, oblast, or large city could be limited to 50-100 and at rayon level to 20-30 deputies.

[Feofanov] Is that what you call "fundamental restructuring?" Will 400-500 deputies be able to discuss a question in as much detail as the Council of Ministers, for instance?

[Kurashvili] The Council of Ministers, which has about 100 people, is abnormally large for an administrative collegium. For the Supreme Soviet or a collegium of a different type this number is normal. That is world experience.

[Feofanov] But the local soviets. Their numerical strength is not that great. Yet they are also passive. You can halve or quarter the number of deputies—what will change...

[Kurashvili] You can understand that reduction is not an end in itself. It is a case of the qualitative composition of the deputies, primarily in terms of their social position. It is scarcely in accordance with the initial idea of the soviets that an increasing number of apparatus workers, if only in ministerial ranks, are being elected in them. Membership of the soviets has become for them a pleasant and honorable additional post. If you reduce the number of deputies and leave existing procedure unchanged, the bureaucratization of the soviets will be aggravated still further. Let's approach the matter from the following angle. By virtue of their posts leaders from the administration apparatus are already in the system of power and administration. Is that not enough? Surely they should not additionally hold positions in the soviets as well? Is it not to report to themselves and monitor themselves?

It is time to abandon this diffusion in the power and administration system—a diffusion advantageous to the apparatus. The soviets play, or rather should play, their own special role in this system and they will be able to perform their functions in reality only on condition that they are liberated from administrative pressure operating without and within. Hence the rule that citizens who do not hold posts (leading or executive) in party, state, trade union, or Komsomol organs or in any administrative apparatuses above the level of enterprises and other organizations should be elected as deputies of soviets of all levels.

"Simple" citizens enjoying prestige in the people's midst, loyal sons and daughters of the fatherland, "rank and file" workers, bearers of supreme moral values, principled and resolute people capable of expressing and when necessary defending the interests of society, the state, social groups and strata, or national and territorial communities, are elected to the soviets. There are enough of these individuals among the people. They include workers like Serikov and Golubeva, peasants like Vagin and Beduli, enterprise directors like Travkin and Kabaidze, teachers like Shatalov and Ilin, scientists like Zaslavskaya and Velikhov, doctors like Ilizarov and Fedorov, writers like Rasputin and Gelman, actors like Ulyanov and Yefremov, and so forth. Under the roof of the soviets we must gather and constantly renew the flower of the people, their intelligence, honor, and conscience, people of civic courage and civic wisdom. Only soviets with this qualitative composition can regenerate the prestige of socialist people's representation.

[Feofanov] It is curious, Boris Pavlovich, how you are getting caught in the nets you yourself have set. The people you named are, I believe, nearly all deputies. What is preventing them from displaying a deputy's activeness? You want to make soviets consist of outstanding workers? Of famous people, who will take the place of high-ranking apparatus workers? I have no desire to offend these truly authoritative and honored citizens. But it is only that I cannot make out why they, who are so different, will begin to discuss specific problems in a businesslike way better than they would with the participation of "officials" who know the matter well. It seems to me that it is this which will be playing at democracy. Restructuring for appearance's sake. Here is a soviet, you say, without a single official, consisting entirely of "the flower of the people." I am by no means against investing outstanding people with deputies' mandates. Nevertheless the soviet as a "working corporation" has tasks and functions far removed from mere ostentation. Incidentally, voters will be offered the same array—in terms of degree of outstandingness and renown. In brief, you will replace the search for some principles which you initially proclaimed with the simplest principle: Let there be different people in the soviet.

[Kurashvili] Allow me to disagree with you. Alas, I am not the one caught in the nets of illogicality. Who has not observed the following scene: Adults, respectable, serious people, gather for the anniversary of their school graduation and behave like schoolchildren. It is the same with deputies. They have been assigned the role of extras, going beyond this role is unnatural, everything is prescribed—and they behave like extras. Change their real role and everything will change.

Of course, to resurrect the soviets' authority their good composition is not enough. The soviets have now been "liberated" from practical state work by the administration apparatus. In the future they will have to do it themselves, by their own intelligence, energy, and will. How might this look?

Soviets from rayon level and above function permanently except for vacations. (As for rural soviets your newspaper voiced what seems to me a sensible proposal: They should be replaced by rural assemblies and everyone should directly elect the head of power). The deputies are switched to the maintenance of the state. "Deputy service" will become their main activity. Where the opportunities exist, in order not to lose their qualifications, deputies perform their professional work simultaneously. Their working time spent on "deputy service" is divided more or less evenly between work in the soviet and meetings with voters. The deputies' work takes place mainly in permanent commissions. Sessions of soviets are convened twice a year but each lasts not a day or two but 2-3 months.

The soviets work as openly as possible, with free access for the public, with the coverage of discussions of interest to the people "directly over the air." The deputies are thus shaped as competent statesmen. They, their political nature, services, and errors become widely known to the people and are assessed exactingly by them.

[Feofanov] It seems to me that you simply want to create a second administration apparatus, and inevitably a less qualified one. To put it more simply, you want the deputy to sit on two chairs at the same time: to be at his job and to engage professionally in the activity of a deputy. What will come of this? I can understand the parliamentary system: There the deputy is a professional politician. But that is what we have departed from. "Through the working people" means not through such politicians but through the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. But what are you proposing—half-workers, half-engineers? Perhaps I have not completely understood your idea, but it does generate doubts.

[Kurashvili] Yes, there is a weak spot here. But not so weak as to negate everything. The deputy should not yield to the bureaucrat in understanding administrative problems. Otherwise what authority and what control would he have? But the apparatus engages in these problems all its life. Where is the way out? In the nature of professionalism. The deputy is a politician, his professionalism is connected with his understanding of the interests of society and the goals and ultimate results of his activity. Here he can and must surpass the bureaucrat. In addition he must be familiar with administrative techniques to an extent sufficient to ensure that no one can make a fool of him with impunity. Surely these are not excessive expectations? This "semiprofessionalism" is both adequate and attainable.

The soviets' leading functions remain norm creation, the examination and approval of the plan and budget, the filling of key state posts, and control over the activity of the administrative apparatus. The soviets do not perform these functions by obediently following outside instructions but on the basis of party program instructions and their own studies, assessments, and forecasts.

The soviets and their permanent commissions enjoy the broadest powers. In particular they can acquaint themselves with all available information on the question which is being resolved, study public opinion, carry out research and investigations, creating investigative and expert commissions for the purpose, question the leaders of organs under their jurisdiction and the candidates for these posts, and approve or disapprove of their holding of a post or appointment to it.

In brief—that is the thrust of the idea—the soviets become permanent. The soviets return to themselves, to their initial essence.

Your objections scarcely reflect obstacles which rule out the proposed reform. The obstacle lies elsewhere—in the halfhearted nature which, despite the proclaimed party instructions, the first steps of restructuring have acquired. Such, in particular, is the nature of the Law on the State Enterprise. It takes a step forward in the transition from predominantly administrative methods of management to predominantly economic methods, but the linchpin of the former—planning by directive—is retained (in a shamefaced form and somewhat curtailed shape, it is true). That is the superficial structural reorganization of the administrative apparatus. There is the inevitable temptation of limiting oneself to half-measures in restructuring the soviets too.

But let's take note of the following point. By the very nature of economic life the restructuring of the economic mechanism demands a smooth, gradual approach. We must extricate ourselves from the utterly disordered system of prices, organize material and supplies in a new way, and so forth. The gradual approach here can be achieved by one of two ways: either by establishing immediately, by legislation, the desired ultimate model and then advancing to it stage by stage in current politics or, while running the risk of never reaching a vaguely conceived end goal, establishing its own laws for each successive stage. It looks as though the second path has been chosen. With regard to the economic mechanism this path has certain arguments in its favor. But they are without force as applied to the restructuring of the soviets. Objectively nothing here prevents us from immediately taking a broad, complete step. Nothing except the "subjective factor," as ordinary human and political weaknesses are sometimes delicately called.

[Feofanov] But, Boris Pavlovich, I still incline to a "revolutionary gradual approach," so to speak. What do I have in mind? Essentially the soviets as such do not engage in norm setting nor do the supreme soviets engage in legislation. They pass laws and vote for them as they vote for ispolkom resolutions, which are of a compulsory nature. But that is only form. Local authorities' resolutions and laws are prepared in the "corridors of power," by the apparatuses. The soviet commissions merely approve drafts with as a rule insignificant amendments. There is no real working over of draft laws by deputies. Would it not be more correct initially to transfer purely economic matters to the solution of governmental and executive organs and for soviets of all degrees to embark on legislation in earnest? That is, for them to implement their main function? That would change the nature of their activity without the drastic changes you propose.

[Kurashvili] Without a radical reform we will not achieve this. I agree with you that the soviets are engaging only formally in their main business. But by this assertion willy nilly you confirm the need for radical revolutionary changes, not "gradual revolutionary" ones.

Reader Fears Retreat From Glasnost

PM020803 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 7, 15-21 Feb 88 (Signed to Press 17 Feb 88) p 2

[Reader's letter carried as part of "Correspondence With Readers" feature]

[Text] It was with tremendous interest that I read NEDELYA's article "Bukharin—Known and Unknown." Thank you very much for it. Its publication in the press was yet another manifestation of glasnost and the democratization of society.

I would like to voice certain thoughts and doubts in my letter. I am an ordinary worker (crane operator) with general secondary education, which, by the way, I gained by graduating from a young workers' school.

Quite often in the collective or in my circle of friends, acquaintances, and relatives we discuss many questions which were formerly taboo, and our opinions are at times diametrically opposed.

...The period of the late thirties is known among the people as the "Yezhov years." The expression "To be handled with Yezhov's gloves" has acquired a special meaning, a special overtone. People disappeared from life... Thousands of lives, thousands of human tragedies... The party embarked on a correct course by exposing, like a purulent abscess, the mistakes and excesses of the past.

Back in 1971 I was working in Priangarye in the Maritime Kray. Kezhma was a fairly large village and rayon center. Once I picked up in the library a bound volume of the journal YUNOST and discovered several typewritten sheets of paper slipped in between its pages. The paper had yellowed with the passage of time, the typeface was almost illegible, some parts of the text were underlined, and there were exclamation and question marks in the margins.

"Stalin," I began reading, "you have outlawed me, in other words you have trampled on my rights, or rather stripped me of my rights..."

I read through these pages with bated breath.

The letter was signed by F. Raskolnikov, ambassador plenipotentiary in Bulgaria. It was dated 18 August 1938.

It emerged later that much of what was written was the truth. But I did not know this at the time. One point worried me more than anything else: Why was the author acting as advocate for Bukharin when even the dullest of schoolchildren knew that Kamenev, Zinovyev, Bukharin, and Rykov were all enemies of the people?

I was also perplexed by the claim that books were being burned on I.V. Stalin's orders. Especially books by him, by F. Raskolnikov.

A forgery, I thought at the time, a lampoon and a juggling of facts. I even had my doubts whether such an ambassador plenipotentiary—F. Raskolnikov—actually did exist. Later on, while in Sverdlovsk, I called at the university's Department of CPSU History and asked for an answer to a single question: Was F. Raskolnikov a real person?

"Young man," I was told, "either hide these papers or burn them. For your own peace of mind. As for Raskolnikov? No, I don't know of anyone by that name, I don't remember..."

But I did not leave it at that, I tried to explain and elucidate the question that was plaguing me, until a comrade of mine, without saying a word, tore up the letter before my very eyes and threw it in the fire.

"Now you can be free," he said.

And it was only quite recently that I saw the name of F.F. Raskolnikov in an article describing him as a true Bolshevik and Leninist.

And now about my doubts.

M.S. Gorbachev has put forward the most correct program, a program that is most acceptable for the people: Restructuring, acceleration, glasnost, democratization. This program has touched the hearts and minds of many (I won't say all) people. But here is an interesting point. Now all our mistakes, all omissions and distortions are actively blamed on the period of stagnation. The word "stagnation" has gained currency. The period of stagnation—that says it all. A word used by way of both explanation and indulgence. As if it did not involve specific people and specific culprits.

I, like many others, agree with the course taken by the party. I would vote with both hands for it and am doing everything within my power to prevent any deviation from it. But on looking back, recalling the past, and comparing it with the present, one cannot help asking: How could **that** have happened? What must be done to ensure that **that** does not happen again? [boldface as published]

Let us turn back to the "Yezhov years." Do you not think that this period is not only a lesson but also a warning?

So what is the point I am trying to make? Here is the point. I think that it is necessary to guarantee that people who have wholeheartedly embraced restructuring will not be dubbed dissidents and that an even worse label will not be attached to them. There must be no retreat from glasnost and democratization.

Yes, now we are on the correct path. But you feel somewhat uncomfortable when you recall the not so distant past. How one wishes that it would never return!

Vitaliy Vladimirovich Kalmykov, crane operator, Miass.

P.S. I have written this letter without beating about the bush, on the basis of my own views and my own confusions which—if they do exist—are also sincere.

Literary Panel Discusses ZNAMYA Performance

OW250945 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0005 GMT on 20 February carries a program, entitled "All-Union Readers Conference," covering a meeting at the State Library in Moscow. Video shows a conference room full of people and a panel consisting of poets, authors, and Grigoriy Yakovlevich Baklanov, chief editor of ZNAMYA and chairman of the panel.

Baklanov briefly reminds the audience of the long and illustrious history of ZNAMYA and the role and responsibility of journals in the contemporary Soviet Union. He says, it is because of this responsibility that "we decided to publish the authors of today as well as the works of those who did not get published during their lifetime." Baklanov says that the most significant publication this year was that of A.T. Tvardovskiy's poem, The Rights of Memory [Po Pravu Pamyati]. He notes that following the poem's publication the journal received numerous letters and that not all of them were supportive. In fact, a great number expressed alarm, saying that such publications would cause more harm than good. Baklanov ends his introduction by saying that the journal will keep on publishing good literature.

Touching on literary criticism, he says: "There are no groups or set directions that we subscribe to. What we have is the literature of our people. We will observe this. We do not have any bias. No matter where the item is published, if it is good, we will review it and will recommend it to our readers."

The microphone is then handed over to V.Ya. Lakshin, deputy editor of the journal, who invites the audience to pose questions to the members of the panel. People asking questions are not identified. Members of the panel responding to the questions are identified by a caption on the screen.

A general discussion on recently published works ensues. Particular interest is shown in works written in the sixties but not published until recently. There is a general consensus that despite the lapse of some 20 years, these works remain "relevant" and "meaningful."

A woman in the audience asks Baklanov: Does ZNAMYA plan to set up a special section to examine the works of those who "sinned against historical truth" so that young people will learn not only to think for themselves but also be exposed to specific and truthful information? The audience greets the question with applause. Baklanov responds: "It seems that the audience is in agreement with you. I am not, and I will tell you why. You will find this idea developed in the novel, "The House of Pashkov" by Shmelev. If each generation should constantly sit in judgement of the preceding generation, there would be no end to it. I think that what we need to do now above all else is to heal the atmosphere in our society, and not to be punitive. I am not defending those who dealt in lies. But thinking about the good of society, our first task is to work for cohesion among our people. Otherwise we will fail to reach our great goals."

Some of the questions asked are in the form of notes. One of these is addressed to writer I.A. Dedkov: "We, the 20th Congress generation, recall two thaws—1956 and 1961—which were very rapidly replaced by a cold snap. What, in your opinion, could hinder the occurrence of another cold wave?" Dedkov answers that he has deep faith in the people of his country and that the number of people who would oppose regressive steps have grown. Nevertheless, he says, "guarantees are certainly needed. State, party, and legal mechanisms need to be worked out to safeguard our society from repetition of the catastrophes of the past. "

An unidentified man says: "Much has been said about the right to work, leisure, and education. Perhaps the time has come to introduce a new aspect—something that has for some reason been ignored—that is, the right to read. I understand this to be the right of any person, no matter where he lives in our country, to read any book he chooses."

The meeting continues with a general discussion about literature, and a discussion of interviews with authors who were not able to attend. Ye. Yevtushenko arrives late and reads a previously unpublished poem.

Theatre Writers Protest Shatrov Play Criticism

PM011101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[Readers' letter and editorial comment under the rubric "From the Recent Mail": "Coming Full Circle?"]

[Text] A stormy and passionate discussion of the problems of our ancient and recent history is under way in the press. Without an understanding of the past, without a clear and firm evaluation of the people's historic path and of all our achievements and tragedies, it is impossible to make further headway. Klaas' ashes do indeed touch the hearts of those for whom the fatherland is dear. Artists, including dramatists, actors, and producers have used their means to join the very difficult process of our society's moral cleansing.

We are learning to live under the conditions of glasnost, when no one has a monopoly of the truth and there is competition between minds and talents. Opportunity and openness in discussing any very complex problems are not only a question of the standard of debate. If you like, this is the question of the existence of culture and art in socialist society. Our country has really achieved restructuring and glasnost through suffering and that is why any attempts to reverse the process, whatever lofty slogans are used to conceal them, give rise to the most profound alarm.

It was just such alarm which was generated in us by the critical campaign around M. Shatrov's new play "Onward... Onward... Onward!" The very fact that there has been an open polemic is the best evidence of the present day, of the beneficial processes which have taken place in society since April 1985. Historians who are now publicly setting forth their objections to the play would formerly as a rule inform the bosses of their viewpoint in secret memorandums. Now millions of readers can make their own judgment of the play, published in the journal ZNAMYA, and of what its critics think about it. We do not intend right now either to defend the play or to call it in question. It has not yet been staged and a drama without a stage is like a soul without a body, as Gogol used to say. It is something else which perturbs us. Voices have begun to be heard increasingly loudly and sharply which, under the guise of discussing historical problems reflected in the play, are in fact cutting off the possibility of the fictional treatment of our history. Ideological labels have come into circulation again and the gravest political accusations are being heard. Following old, hackneyed cliches, people are discovering (simultaneously!) in the play Menshevism, an emigre spirit hostile to the country, and extreme revolutionariness. It is as though this was the first play about Lenin by some nonentity, not the result of the 30-year career of an artist who has never concealed his political preferences. Why is this hysteria being fuelled? Why are phony concepts being substituted for real ones? Why is the author's stage direction, whose meaning would seem to be comprehensible even to a schoolboy, being used as the basis for concluding that in the play Lenin and Stalin are completely identified and that Lenin is merely the hypostasis of Stalin, who is completely unwilling to "leave the stage?"

What can be said on this subject? Yes, we very much want Stalin to leave not only the stage but also our life, we want his methods, his "morality," his means of resolving disputes, including in art, to leave. Unfortunately, you cannot overcome the heritage of the past with verbal incantations, or the party would never have begun the revolutionary restructuring of our entire life. In contrast to some historians, we believe that in a work of fiction Lenin not only can but must assess modern socialism and everything we are doing. Without this assessment, without the real checking of our path against Lenin's compass, you will never break through to true socialism. Sticking political labels on a dramatist at a moment when not a single theater has had its say and not a single professional critic has spoken has, it seems to us, a specific and far-reaching purpose: returning us to the era of methods of cultural leadership based on administrative command. And it is no accident that "locally" people immediately heeded the voice of this long awaited trumpet. Signals are reaching the USSR and RSFSR unions of theatrical workers to the effect that a number of cities are already banning the staging of the new play about Lenin. They are banning it in the new style—not by an order or by shouting but by forceful friendly admonition.

Isn't it all starting all over again?

Let's say it once again. The polemic around any phenomenon of modern art is beneficial and we need it as we need air. Methods of suppressing artistic dissent are dangerous, the sticking of political labels and ideological accusations which take absolutely no account of the nature of art are dangerous. We have paid too dearly for insight to come full circle and start again.

Hero of Socialist Labor and People's Artist of the USSR K. Lavrov; Hero of Socialist Labor and People's Artist of the USSR M. Ulyanov; Hero of Socialist Labor and People's Artist of the USSR G. Tovstonogov; USSR State Prize winner and Honored Figure of Art of the RSFSR M. Zakharov; Hero of Socialist Labor and People's Artist of the USSR A. Goncharov; USSR State Prize winner and dramatist V. Rozov; USSR State Prize winner and dramatist A. Gelman; Hero of Socialist Labor and People's Artist of the USSR O. Yefremov.

From the Editorial Office [subhead]

Readers have already had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with historians' opinion of M. Shatrov's play "Onward... Onward... Onward!" "Only the Truth is Outside Their Jurisdiction" was the title of the article by G. Gerasimenko, O. Obichkin, and B. Popov published in PRAVDA 15 February.

In this article, while paying tribute to "Shatrov's political theater," the scholars voiced the view that the play's content accorded far from fully with the historical truth. The scholars' opinion is based on a knowledge of history and a reliance on the Marxist methodology of the study of specific historical processes.

The letter published above from eminent theatrical figures, sent to the editorial office under the heading "Coming Full Circle," does not speak of the play's merits or shortcomings ("we do not intend right now either to defend the play or to call it into question") but, as we have understood it, expresses alarm at the critical comments levelled against it, at the alleged sticking of political labels on the play's author, at the return to "methods of cultural leadership based on administrative commands," and so forth.

PRAVDA's viewpoint is well known. It has always opposed anyone's monopoly on the truth, opposed the position that claims: There is my opinion and the wrong opinion. On the other hand, there can be no question of the resurrection of zones closed to criticism, and that includes the field of culture. Mikhail Ulyanov rightly said in a recent publication: "...what kind of a society is it in which someone cannot be criticized? In this case I am thinking of figures of culture, not of the upper echelons."

Readers well remember PRAVDA's repeated actions—actions which met with a broad public response—in favor of a high standard of debate, against the sticking of various labels, cliquishness, attempts by anyone to view the complex questions of sociopolitical and spiritual life from positions of strong-arm pressure, personal likes and dislikes, the changing of the thrust of the dispute, and so forth.

PRAVDA is in favor of a careful and most respectful attitude toward the creation of the artistic intelligentsia but is also in favor of the Soviet public's right to voice its opinion about it in public.

The possibility of an open, frank discussion of the most acute problems is a great gain of restructuring. It is the real free competition of minds and talents, whose development we are all called upon to serve.

Lavrentiy Beria's Crimes, Arrest Recounted

PM011634 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 8, 22-28 Feb 88 (Signed to Press 24 Feb) pp 11-12

[Article by Nikolay Zhusenin in response to reader's letter under the rubric "History Club": "Beria: Some Episodes From a Criminal Life"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; boldface passages as published]

[Text] Yes, Stalin was guilty of repressions and lawlessness, no one is denying that or justifying it. But everything cannot be "blamed" on him alone; everything that happened under Stalin cannot be disparaged wholesale. In any case, after Stalin's death nowhere, neither in official documents nor in speeches by state and party figures, was there or is there any talk of the blame being Stalin's alone. That is only natural: Behind Stalin there were many henchmen and adventurists like Yezhov, Beria, and possibly others. I say "possibly" because far from everything has yet been studied and researched about those repressions. This too must be written about.

A.G. Zavrazhnykh, Verkhniye Polany, Kirov Oblast.

[Zhusenin] Many legends exist about how he became people's commissar of the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs].

But not one of them is supported by documentary evidence. In general very few documents survive about Beria's life, especially before his "rise." This man, who assembled enormous files on every more or less significant state figure, and even—rumor has it—on Stalin himself, knew the value of testimonies and witnesses. That is why it is so hard today to discover the truth and recreate a reliable, living portrait of this terrible, fateful personality in our history.

The biography of a true comrade in arms of the "leader of the peoples"—the official version for the millions, on the one hand, and muffled, nightmarish rumors, any one of which could cost you your life, on the other—that is the canvas on which we can today compose a portrait of this man.

But a few witnesses are still alive; testimonies exist about his last days, his arrest and death. Here Beria no longer had it in his power to rewrite or destroy.

But how did his rise begin? One version is this: Stalin placed infinite trust in Beria after the latter had averted an attempt on the leader's life by shielding him with his own body and dealing quickly with the attackers. That was while Stalin was on vacation on Lake Ritsa. At the time some people speculated that the assassination attempt was only a masquerade that later ended in bloody reprisals against the "players," that Beria was skillfully playing on Stalin's morbid suspicions... But nobody dared to uncover the deception or even simply to hint at it to Stalin. It would have meant mortally insulting and humiliating him. Thus the masquerade was elevated to the rank of an act of heroism which became one of the cornerstones of Beria's phenomenal career.

"He started work in his new post diplomatically," Sergey Anastasovich Mikoyan says, recalling his father's stories. "The first thing he said was: Enough 'purges,' it is time to get down to real work. Speeches like that prompted sighs of relief from many people who were living in constant fear that someone would come for them any minute. At the time few people entertained the idea that Beria was simply slackening slightly the reins that Yezhov had held so tight. He needed time to find out how to start up and operate the repressive machinery that was created before his time, to understand why it had suffered the breakdowns that eventually led to Yezhov's fall. He needed time to perfect this machinery, make it omnipotent and universal, and at the same time not only to avoid alarming Stalin, but, on the contrary, to convince him that only in that form would the NKVD be a reliable shield for the leader, **whatever aims he might pursue**. This was the nature and ultimate goal of that 'real work.' It took exceptional diplomatic and organizational capabilities and the ability to weave a web of intrigue to restart the repressive machine in a very short space of time (even with Stalin's tacit encouragement)."

No, this man was not, like Yezhov, merely a loyal henchman ready to remove anyone on orders from above, with no particular concern for the semblance of justice. Beria was the champion of Stalinist policy who could make total tyranny over people who got in the way look like a struggle for the people's good. Such a person was precisely what was needed, and for this he was forgiven much that no one else would have gotten away with.

Beria succeeded in his intentions. The day was to come when Stalin would confer on him the title of Marshal of the Soviet Union and elevate him to the Hero's star for his "ultradevoted" service.

Sergey Nikitovich Khrushchev, son of N.S. Khrushchev, described the indignation of his father and many other senior party and state figures when they recalled the blackmail and intrigues with which Beria bound literally every member of Stalin's government. Everyone knew that Beria was spying on them, and everyone surmised that all this was to Stalin's liking.

Nothing was sacred to Beria. Communists with prerevolutionary service, Ilich's comrades in arms, young men, Komsomol workers, students, eminent scientists and cultural personalities, women and children—all became victims of the machinery of destruction. Even his native Georgia suffered cruelly. The entire flower of the republic's party organization, the entire flower of the intelligentsia was mercilessly destroyed. The same can be said of literally every region of the country. It was not only the "enemies of the people" who were subjected to repressions, but also their families, close and distant relatives, colleagues, and friends.

Today, as we confront in all its importance the question of the need to write a truthful, complete history of the Soviet people's life and struggle, we should not bypass these chapters in silence. At the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum it was stressed: "...It is necessary to show clearly how millions of people lived and worked, what they believed in, what was the combination of victories and failures, discoveries and errors, the bright and the tragic, the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm and the violations of socialist legality, and sometimes even crimes."

People are alive to this day—I was able to meet with them while working on this item—whose hands begin to shake at the very mention of Beria's name. Why is he so terrible? Why do I see in their eyes just one desire—to see me off as soon as possible? After all, it is 34 years since Beria was shot. What do these people carry in their souls today? A sense of complicity in such great crimes, of dire sin against their people? Or the feeble self-consoling feeling (so that they can continue to live and look people in the eyes today) that they were blind tools in the hands of a villain? Or the certainty—worst of all—that there was no alternative. These last are still repeating a proverb that has acquired a sinister meaning: When you cut down trees, splinters fly.

People from Stalin's entourage are still alive. I tried to meet with them too, in the hope of learning more about Beria's activity. But in vain.

Those who were Beria's victims or unwilling witnesses of his crimes recall their meetings with him with indignation and with anger that never fades, even for a moment.

Glafira Lukinichna Blyukher, widow of the marshal who was shot in 1938, recalls:

"I spent 7 months in solitary confinement in the Lubyanka. I will never forget the first interrogation, which Beria himself conducted. They did not beat me or torture me, as they did many wives of military men, to extract from them fabricated evidence against their husbands. But that did not make it any easier for me. They took away the person who was dearest to me. Later I realized why there was no need for torture: All the documents on Blyukher had already been concocted. They simply isolated me, as someone close to the famous marshal. Beria himself conducted the interrogation, evidently simply from sadistic curiosity."

"Glafira Lukinichna, how do you remember Beria?"

"He held himself arrogantly. He did not look at you, he seemed to examine you, like someone examining a little insect through a magnifying glass. His appearance was repellent. He exuded coldness, indifference to everything human in his victim... It was a time when we, who were physically destroyed and morally humiliated, were not the only ones to suffer. It was no better for those who were living and working, were even held in honor, but were constantly waiting: any moment... Talk to them, to their relatives."

Lieutenant General Igor Borisovich Shaposhnikov, retired:

"In the war, all our people's thoughts were directed toward the speediest routing of the enemy. My father, Marshal of the Soviet Union Boris Mikhaylovich Shaposhnikov, made his contribution to this sacred cause. Although, to be honest, I am amazed that he found the strength to do useful work after one of our closest relatives was arrested on Beria's personal orders..."

Colonel Ilya Grigoryevich Starinov, retired, recalls:

"While working in the state security organs, I was far removed from Beria's affairs, because he did not concern himself with so-called operational work. But of course, some things did reach me. The following story was told me by a comrade in the service. After the war Stalin decided to remove Chief Marshal of Artillery Voronov. Beria was worried: Who would provide compromising evidence against the marshal? They urgently hunted out Nora Pavlova Chegodayeva, an interpreter who worked with Nikolay Nikolayevich in Spain. The intention was for her to testify on Voronov's long-standing links with the Trotskiyists. That courageous woman spent a year in prison without breathing a word against the illustrious military leader. She was only released after Stalin's death.

"No less than the military," Ilya Grigoryevich continued, "many NKVD staffers also suffered under Beria. These were people who would not make a deal with their conscience, who tried to save the innocent. In saving others, they perished themselves, sentenced to shooting or to a slow death in the camps..."

A prominent Soviet construction worker, who, in his youth, worked on the Baykal-Amur Railroad, and later worked within the NKVD system, recounts:

"In those days a powerful incentive for the prisoners was the so-called 'reckoning of work days,' whereby for particularly important, hard, and urgent work they counted 2 days of your sentence for 1 day's work, or 3 days of sentence for 2 days' work. But once, about 2 years before the war, the chief of the railroad construction camps came to Moscow. He reported to Beria on 'outrages involving the reckoning of work days.' Sentences were being reduced by one-third to one-half... Beria reported it to Stalin. Soon the reckoning system was abolished. A ray of hope was extinguished for thousands of people..."

It is well known how fussy Stalin was about any manifestations of immorality or unscrupulousness in the personal life of people in his entourage. Nonetheless he "did not know" (did not want to know) anything about something that brought grief to dozens of families.

"Do you remember Beria, at least from pictures?" Svetlana Vasilyevna Sh. asked me. "Bulging eyes, behind the glass of his pincenez. A half-grin that looked as if it was stuck on... I remember the women in my circle looked at that face in the newspapers and in pictures with terror. At that time persistent rumors were going around in the capital about the disappearance without trace of beautiful young women, after a car had approached them, clinging insinuatingly to the sidewalk, and stopped alongside them. You could believe the rumors, and not believe them, too. When believing was terrifying, you tried to shrug them off. That was what I did, until... One day I was walking along the Arbat with a fellow student. All at once a car stopped nearby, two muscular thugs got out, and rapidly approached us. We did not have time to realize what was happening before they seized my friend by the arm and forcibly shoved her into the car. I felt ill when I suddenly realized where they were taking her and why. Shout, weep, complain? We knew it was useless and dangerous, then..."

"Yes! It's all true," Mayya Ivanovna Koneva, daughter of the well known Soviet military leader who was in the chair at Beria's trial, bitterly confirmed this story. "I remember my father was filled with hatred of that villain, partly because of what he heard from the weeping mothers of those girls who were the debauchee's victims. I will never forget my father's impassioned words: 'I suffered in the war for the fate of every young woman, devoutly remembering that after the war she would be someone's sweetheart, wife, mother... And he, that scum, treated them so inhumanly."

...That is how this man lived, until Stalin's death. In the new government Beria became USSR minister of internal affairs. Perhaps he would have held onto that post for a while, but he himself hastened his fate.

"He met with Bulganin and Khrushchev one after the other," Andrey Georgiyevich Malenkov says, sharing the reminiscences of his father, then chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, "and tried to incite them to seize power. Why them? Probably because they both had influential posts in the government and the CPSU Central Committee. But Beria miscalculated. Both Bulganin and Khrushchev went to my father and told him everything. Their report was sufficient reason to take urgent measures..."

"My father told me," A. Malenkov went on, "how they arrested this dangerous and still very strong adversary. Beria was invited to a routine session of the Politburo. He clearly had no idea what was to be discussed.

"'Lavrentiy,' Georgiy Maksimilianovich Malenkov asked him, in the presence of everyone, 'did you want to accomplish a coup d'etat? How?'

"Everyone present never forgot how Beria paled and lost the power of speech..."

There are so many myths of all kinds among the people about how Beria was arrested! Fate led me to the sole surviving participant in this arrest, Major General Ivan Grigoryevich Zub, retired, and gave me an opportunity to dispel the myths once and for all.

"On that hot day I was at my dacha," the general recalls. "All at once my adjutant telephoned and told me that Defense Minister Nikolay Aleksandrovich Bulganin had summoned me urgently. I admit I was surprised that the minister was interested in me, chief of the political directorate of Moscow District Air Defense Forces. I went. In the reception room I saw Generals P. Batitskiy, A. Baksov, K. Moskalenko. K. Moskalenko's adjutant, Lieutenant Colonel V. Yuferev, was there too...

"First Bulganin checked on my biographical data, asked after my health, and inquired how I could handle weapons. Finally he asked whether I was prepared to carry out a responsible government mission. I answered strictly according to the book. The conversation ended there."

[Zhusenin] Why, in your view, were you and your comrades entrusted with the arrest of Beria?

[Zub] I suppose Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, who knew Moskalenko well from the war years, proposed him as a candidate, and Kirill Semenovich obviously wanted to be accompanied by people he knew to be tried and tested combat comrades. First Deputy Defense Minister Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov led the entire arrest operation and played a most direct part in it.

[Zhusenin] How did you get into the Kremlin, which was guarded mainly by Beria's men?

[Zub] Bulganin and Zhukov took us through the Borovitskiye Gate in their cars, which had dark glass. In Malenkov's reception room, so as not to arouse suspicion, we were put down as people who had come with the minister for a conference...

[Zhusenin] How did subsequent events develop?

[Zub] In the break, Bulganin and Khrushchev came into our room and explained our task. They said we would have to go into the hall of sessions in response to an agreed signal—a bell. When the bell rang, we went in through the three doors in pairs, pistols in our hands. Some comrades started to get up from their seats in alarm. It seems far from everyone had been informed about the possible events. Well, after that everything was simple. Malenkov explained the crux of the matter and then, in our presence, proposed a vote: "Who is in favor of arresting Beria?" Everyone raised their hands. Georgiy Konstantinovich went up to Beria, who was still sitting motionless, and said: "Hands up. You're under arrest."

We stayed in that room until the Kremlin guard was changed. Only when measures had been adopted for Beria to be dispatched secretly to the place where he was to be held, at about 4 in the morning on the following day, did we set off.

[Zhusenin] How did Beria behave during those hours?

[Zub] He tried to distract us, to weaken our vigilance, so as to get to the telephone somehow and contact some of his people. But we were on the alert.

[Zhusenin] One last question. Later you were one of those responsible for Beria's fate until the trial. How did he behave in his imprisonment beforehand?

[Zub] He did not confess to anything. Then he went on hunger strike, which lasted 11 days. We made considerable efforts to make that villain "hold out" until his trial, where he would have to answer for his crimes... [Zub ends]

It has already been said that Beria, aware of the value of testimonies and witnesses, tried to do everything possible to make sure they were kept to a minimum. All the same, in the course of investigation it emerged that back in 1919, while in Baku, Beria became an agent for the counterintelligence service of the counterrevolutionary Musavatist government in Azerbaijan, which operated under the control of the English intelligence organs. In 1920, in Georgia, he cooperated with the Georgian Menshevik government's secret police.

Did Stalin know about that? That thought gives me no rest.

The trial lasted from 18-23 December 1953. With Beria in the dock were six of his colleagues. They were tried by a Special Judicial Body of the USSR Supreme Court. It was a special court, and it has to be discussed in a special way, because it took place behind closed doors.

The hour of retribution struck.

"The Special Judicial Body of the USSR Supreme Court has resolved: L. Beria, V. Merkulov, V. Dekanozov, B. Kobulov, S. Goglidze, P. Meshik, and L. Vlodzimirskiy are sentenced to the supreme measure of punishment—shooting, with confiscation of their personal property and deprivation of military titles and awards. The sentence is final and not subject to appeal."

That same day, 23 December, the sentence was carried out.

...A brief interview with Olga Andreyevna Batitskaya:

[Zhusenin] Your husband was entrusted with carrying out this act of justice. Did he tell you how Beria took his death?

[Batitskaya] He said he pleaded for mercy, crawling on his knees. My husband found it insulting. To do so many foul, base, loathsome deeds—and not to find in yourself a drop of courage to take the punishment you deserve in silence!..

[Zhusenin resumes] The last word is with Chief Marshal of Artillery Vladimir Fedorovich Tolubko, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Hero of Socialist Labor:

[Tolubko] I believe the roots of Beria's crimes must be sought not only in the man himself, not so much in him, as in the personality of Stalin. It was the cult, the departure from Leninist norms, which gave rise to the Beria phenomenon. Beria knew how to divine Stalin's desires, knew how to use his master's weaknesses for his own self-interest and aggrandizement.

Thousands of totally innocent victims are on the conscience first and foremost of Stalin and his henchmen like Yezhov and Beria. History will never forgive them this...

Economic

Vasilyev Interviewed on Ministry's Abolishment

PM011201 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with L.B. Vasilyev, USSR minister of machine building for light and food industry and household appliances, by own correspondents N. Kharitonova and S. Brusin: "Aiming for a Breakthrough. USSR Minister L.B. Vasilyev on What Is Being Done To Develop Machine Building for the Food Industry"—date and place not given; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The facts always speak for themselves, so let us start with some. If a progressive defrosting system using the energy of high-frequency vibrations was introduced at a meat combine, that alone would save enough meat products to supply a city of 1 million for 1 day. There is a reserve at poultry combines: One in every 10 eggs has a broken shell. These losses have been recouped by turning the "breakages" into powdered eggs in special drying machines. The reserves are infinite if you enter the world of food industry technology with a scientist's commitment. That is why food equipment is a prestigious and profitable sector of world machine building.

What about in our country? A breakthrough in solving the food problem is one of the paramount tasks of restructuring. The plan of relying solely on the efforts of grain farmers and stockraisers was not a success; we were chronically let down by the backwardness of equipment for the processing sector. Now government decisions unprecedented in the history of the sector have been adopted on food industry machine building's new place in the national economic system. The editorial bureau asked USSR Minister L.B. Vasilyev to comment on these decisions.

[Vasilyev] The decisions are radical. In the next 7 years it is planned to do more than in the previous 40 years. Machine building for the food industry is pledged to supply equipment worth R37 billion and to almost entirely meet the needs of the country's agro-industrial complex by 1995. Are we equal to such a leap forward when hitherto we have had difficulty in coping with far more modest targets?

Criticized for 20 years—that was how long machine building for the food industry was a subsector of the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances. What emerged was a stereotyped attitude to it as a sector somewhere on the margins of our economy—an attitude shared both by the machine building complex and by customers, leadership and planning bodies, and supply organs. Many of our specialists also came to accept this assessment and their enormous indebtedness to the country.

Yet of the 4 million people working in the food, meat, dairy, canning, hulled-crop milling, and fish industries 1.5 million are engaged in manual work. The Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances produced just half of the equipment the processing complex needed. Two out of every three machines were not up to world standards.

It is plain not just to specialists but, I think, to homemakers, that only certain kinds of materials that meet strict health requirements and ensure the necessary quality during the manufacture and storage of products can be allowed to come into contact with food products. World experience shows that stainless steel accounts for an average 60 percent of the materials used in the manufacture of this kind of equipment. Yet it only accounts for 30 percent in this country. How, for instance, can equipment be produced for the meat industry—the preparation of fillings for sausages, meat semimanufactures, and ravioli—without using stainless steel? Yet that is what we have been doing. Life placed our specialists and operators in a difficult position: They have been forced to cover ferrous metal surfaces with varnishes and paints that were immediately "eaten away" by corrosive elements in the raw materials. The amount spent on unplanned maintenance and repainting and revarnishing would sometimes have been enough to buy new equipment.

Who has calculated the amount of losses around the country? A milk tank made of stainless steel lasts 15 years, whereas one made from aluminum lasts just 3 years. The absence of materials in short supply has essentially led to wastefulness on the part of machine builders.

Time demanded fundamental change, and the decisions adopted today have created the conditions for this. The state is making the weak link of machine building into a strong bulwark of the agro-industrial complex. How? The Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances is being abolished and the production of food equipment will be transferred to the defense industry.

This decision reflects the intensity of the struggle for restructuring and for the priority of state interests and also takes account of changes in the international arena.

Mistakes... On the Production Line [subhead]

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Machine building for the food industry, as you have said, was until very recently a laggard peripheral sector of the national economy. How do you view this new step to develop the sector?

[Vasilyev] Today it is extremely important to handle the emergent opportunities correctly. Here one of the main tasks is to erect a reliable barrier in the way of the old expenditure-driven mechanisms that have always plagued the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances. One fatal feature of series production is that it multiplies not only successes but also mistakes. That is why increasing significance attaches to orders being soundly based so they reflect how much of what equipment customers really need.

The planning process is often at odds with the tasks facing machine building for the food industry. Ministries and departments used to try high-handedly to include new targets in the machine builders' plans even after a production program balanced against plants' real capabilities had been ratified. Thus, having gotten a corresponding clause included in a resolution, ministries imposed products which where alien to the sector: packaging equipment for cement, paints, and varnishes. In the same way the State Committee for Science and Technology included around 30 targets for new equipment to the detriment of our basic work. Who should be blamed? Basically nobody; all sides suffered as a result of this kind of "planning." Customers can also be understood—under the conditions of the diktat of producers they had virtually no interest in placing orders using anything other than arbitrary methods. But now other methods are appearing: On the basis of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) plants themselves can be given an interest in outside orders that would be profitable under prevailing market conditions. The other side of the coin is that general sectorial planning will be free of unpredictable interference.

The development of economic methods will educate customers and manufacturers to weigh their interests and potential. For instance, 65 sets of milling equipment have been manufactured for the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, but 25 of them are still in the warehouse. To evaluate the scale of the loss one should realize that each mill is a separate factory and it takes 18 ministries to produce one set of equipment, which is then cannibalized [razukomplektovatsya] and becomes useless.

The backwardness of sector science is also an undesirable legacy of the past, and one of the reasons for it is the fall in the prestige of design cadres. There has been no influx of them from VUZ's—they train operators, not designers. Work organization is routine and is not automated. The capital:worker ratio of a designer's workplace is "peanuts," whereas for his Western colleagues it is a five- or even six-digit figure. The role of designer—the creator of the machine—has been downgraded: How can a machine be produced from unsuitable materials or without the necessary components? As a result designers most often end up as repairmen or couriers collecting authorizations. This is true even though there is an average of only one (!) designer for each machine under development in machine building for the food industry.

Thus, over the last 20 years there has been no serious scientific function in machine building for the food industry, even though only such collectives are capable of competing on the world market.

Unequal Partnership [subhead]

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Overcoming arbitrary interference in planning and the immobility of science in the sector still does not mean reaching international standards. Only those with a superb knowledge of customer and consumer demands and the ability to incarnate them in "metal" can participate in world competition. How can this be achieved?

[Vasilyev] There will have to be an intense struggle to produce output superior to world standards. The inclusion of the potential of defense sectors in the creation of equipment for the processing sector obliges us to do this. This is the essence of restructuring: Working contacts at all levels—manufacturing plants, client enterprises, design and scientific subunits, the Gosagroprom, and manufacturing ministries—should be in the form of creative cooperation for the sake of actual increases in dairy, meat, bakery, and other products.

Today one of our customers' main causes of complaint is the low technical standard of products compared with their Western counterparts. Simple output paralyzes the technical, economic, and skill growth of the manufacturing enterprise itself and has a demoralizing influence on the collective. This is clearly visible in the example of the Voronezh Science-and-Production Association for Packing Machines. Until low-accuracy rolling machines were removed from production and replaced by complex packaging equipment the level of production remained for a long time at the level it was 20 years ago.

This kind of replacement of just one type of product by another, however, invariably leads to additional expenditure. So we need to painstakingly analyze with the customer just what kind of output can tide the plant over [podstrakhuyet] at the stage of the assimilation of new equipment.

Agreement with customers is also necessary in setting the prices of our machines. What is the situation today? Prices for Soviet food equipment are much lower than world prices. That is the historical situation and customers are used to it. It allows prices of products to increase—but only slightly—as their technical standard improves. In these circumstances, however, the interests of manufacturing plants are damaged. Once geared precisely to such lower prices, plant workers have one way or another simplified the technology for manufacturing machines. State acceptance has put technological operations back in their proper place by mobilizing specialists to combat low standards of workmanship. But it suits customers to stay put—they claim machine builders have pledged to supply them with state-of-the-art equipment and at the old price!

The situation is aggravated during the next round of technical progress. For example, a plant might find it advantageous not to produce a certain component of the machine itself but to obtain it under production sharing arrangements from colleagues in another CEMA country. Pricing here acts like a barrier—it completely rules out any such operations. Due to the great price differences, the delivery of components under production sharing arrangements is economically unacceptable even though it may be technically expedient.

Equally insuperable barriers arise in equipment supplies involving expensive automation systems, built-in microprocessor systems, and so on. Let alone noiseless equipment or equipment aesthetics. Any plant wishing to introduce innovations which make a machine competitive on the world market can only do so by... incurring losses. The introduction of substantiated prices dependent on the consumer utility of new equipment will resolve these contradictions.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Designer Yu. Chetverikov invented a cheese production line without parallel in the world, according to a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA report 1 year ago. Cheesemaking technology experts in the agro-industrial complex decided to ignore it and are successfully doing so to this day. While departmental ambitions have been at work, mentions of a similar machine have already appeared in foreign firms' sales literature.

[Vasilyev] We will not advance in technical progress while a narrow view is taken of departmental interests. For example, unless a consumer does some serious preliminary work on his own order, the newly developed equipment will fail to produce the expected benefit. It is possible, for example, to develop a potato peeling machine—it is unnecessary to adduce proof that there is a countrywide need for such a machine. But the machine will have to be attended by a link of workers who will have to manually remove the "eyes"—the buds on the skin. This actually happened when the Gosagroprom spent foreign currency to buy such machines in the Netherlands. No sooner were the machines started up than they came across the problem of the "eyes" and had to ask the suppliers—how do we deal with them? It appeared that this problem does not exist in The Netherlands. The development of the machine was preceded by many years of work by selection experts: They had developed a potato with its "eyes" running not inwards but along the surface. They came off very easily together with the skin. The number of such examples is almost as large as the number of food processing technologies: All fruit must ripen simultaneously to make it possible to mechanize picking and all subsequent operations; broilers must grow to the same size to make their automatic processing feasible. Any equipment for the manufacture of potato flakes requires potato varieties whose flesh does not darken.

If selection experts, processing sector technologists, design engineers, machine building technologists, project development experts, designers, and economists were to jointly tackle the solution of state tasks, we would be considerably faster in supplying modern equipment for the processing sectors. Where are we today as a result of the lack of coordination? Designers, for example, are forced to comply with state standards for products established in the fifties and even in the forties. In those years we had neither food industry machine building nor retail trade machine building as such and produce was manually processed, and therefore the state standards are unacceptable today. Customers pretend not to notice this, even though a review of these standards would be primarily in their own interests.

The partners' noninvolvement is also a hindrance at the machine testing stage—they are in no hurry to second personnel for these tests or to supply us with raw materials. All this happens because the machine is not tested at their expense. It is evident that new equipment must be developed on a contract basis, with all expenses, including those at the testing stage, financed by the client himself. In this case the client's interest in obtaining a return on the funds he has invested will prevent any delays in the introduction of machines.

It is difficult to say whether foreign currency purchases of imported equipment do more harm or good. Claims that Soviet-made equipment was apparently in short supply and not as good were justified, but only partially. Clients became firmly convinced of the superiority of Western developments. This view had a pernicious effect on the technical policy of clients themselves. Content to place only occasional orders with machine builders, their specialists no longer deemed it necessary to keep abreast with the main trends and development prospects of food industry machine building. Meanwhile, our designers, obtaining only "secondary" orders, lost faith in themselves and stopped thinking creatively.

Project in the Balance [subhead]

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] At the recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee there was talk of the lack of a prospectus for the development of processing industry. Do those who develop food industry machines have a prospectus?

[Vasilyev] There cannot be a machine building prospectus in isolation from the system of views on the development prospects of processing industry within the agro-industrial complex. Unfortunately, all defects in clients' policy have an effect on our work. For example, the planned range of products is the central element in the strategy of food industry sectors. Today this is a sphere of deficiencies and mistakes. Someone orders a production line for the manufacture of crabmeat sticks from cheaper fish varieties. Of course, the food on our table ought to be as varied as possible—no one disputes that. What is disputable is the standard of argument: This sort of thing exists in Japan, they say, and therefore we must also have it. But Japan is well known as a country with a primarily fish-based diet; this cannot be said about the USSR. In contrast, items which represent a significant proportion of our diet—like noodles and dumplings [pelmeni i vareniki], for example—hardly exist in the Japanese diet. Consequently, if Japan is varying its fish menu with fish delicacies, we logically ought to produce a broad range of noodles and dumplings with a variety of fillings.

By the way, nobody in the world is in any particular hurry to offer consumers traditionally Russian products like smetana, kvass, baranki, or sushki (kefir is a rare exception, but it was medical scientists rather than food specialists who showed interest in it abroad). Whereas we have been literally carried away by imitation: Pepsi-Cola, Fanta, and pizza appearing on the market one after the other.... This could be welcomed if priority was being given to satisfying the most important national needs.

At the same time, we do not always order what we really need. The high level of employment among the population, primarily among mothers, transforms the task of manufacturing fast frozen food and precooked dishes into a social problem involving the direct enhancement of the people's well-being. There is no Soviet-made equipment for making this type of product, but no orders were placed for it, either. Now we are very belatedly catching up: Equipment for the fast freezing of precooked foods and refrigeration equipment for their storage will be manufactured jointly with the Italian firm "Fata" by the Volga plant for food industry machine building. In terms of its importance, the strategy of the sector's development is equated with the most advanced technologies and progressive organization of labor simply because the absence of such a strategy is capable of nullifying all the aforementioned advantages. Therefore, the share of responsibility we bear for the development of strategy is no less than that borne by clients. We are currently consolidating the technical information and economic services—without them it will be impossible to cope from the very beginning. What are they?

It is necessary to help designers and technologists obtain a clear understanding of the term "world technical standards," which is of key importance in modern planning. Unfortunately, a simplistic approach is often applied in its interpretation. There is a widespread misunderstanding that high technical standards mean only an improvement in a machine's operating specifications—speed, unit capacity, energy consumption, and so on. But the actual conditions of equipment utilization ought to provide serious amplification of advertising data.

For example, for many years the machine builders were forced to increase the unit capacity of food equipment to keep up with similar equipment in the West. We have developed a production line capable of filling 48,000 bottles per hour and powerful equipment for large bakeries with an oven floor area of 100 square meters. But when these filling lines were actually in use, it emerged that they were still not operating at full capacity due to a lack of containers, premises for the storage of the finished product, and transportation. As for bread, when it is baked in colossal quantities, it goes stale and nobody wants to buy it.

"Big is beautiful" mania has been condemned today, even though considerable energy and resources went into its implementation. Machine builders are now busy rectifying the deficiencies and developing compact equipment for raw material processing in smaller kolkhozes, villages, and even family cooperatives in parallel with equipment for large-scale production facilities. Beginning this year, we will embark on the production of mini-ovens which will make it possible to bake bread literally on the sales floor of supermarkets.

Today we can also observe another trend: Equipment with electronic control systems is being ordered from machine builders. The progressive nature of this approach is obvious: Automation is necessary to reduce the proportion of manual labor in large-scale and especially low-status processes in the food industry. The higher cost of equipment resulting from the application of electronics, however, is not always accompanied by its effective utilization. Such equipment will be more idle than operational in places where there are no high standards of production or skilled cadres.

Of course, when it comes to our own scientists, designers, and technologists we are not only not lowering but are actually sharply enhancing our demand that the technical standards of Soviet-made food industry equipment are at the same level as the world's best models. But this quest must also be conducted within the framework of a fundamental concept for the development of the processing industry. The saving of social labor must be one of the basic principles of this strategy and a guideline for the comprehensive mechanization of labor.

At first glance, the term "saving of social labor" looks too vague to serve as a reliable guideline, but it acquires quite specific dimensions as soon as labor collectives in the processing industry begin to compute their economically accountable balance in earnest. This is when any imbalance in labor mechanization and any laggard sectors in the industry will be perceived by collectives as cracks through which enterprises' profits drain away. We expect much from a vigorous transition by food industry sectors to full economic accountability. All the complaints about machine deficiencies stemming from economic accountability must make the agro-industrial complex as a client organize its technical policy differently, must make us as producers more fully satisfy its needs, and must make us both work better in collaboration and in the joint exploration of possibilities.

Press 'Onslaught' Affecting Minister Klyuyev

PM011213 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by special correspondents A. Nikitin and A. Shabashkevich: "Named Seats. Or Why the Minister Refused To Be Interviewed"]

[Text] Minsk-Moscow—One of us recently attended a session of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry Collegium. Having taken his seat, the person in question felt uncomfortable—as if the seat had been custom-built for somebody else. What was all this about? There were plastic nameplates on nearby seats. Our correspondent took a look and saw there was a similar nameplate on the back of his seat.

We have attended many ministry collegiums, and everywhere the seats are the same—for general rather than personal comfort. At one time the seat with the name "Ruben Simonov" on it in the Vakhtangov Theater produced a feeling of anxious respect. But who did not know this producer, who was renowned for his original creative creed and his ability to defend his principled personal stance? In the collegium hall the sentiments were different. What did the nameplate on the seats signify? The "perch" occupied by someone in some kind of "pecking order?"

Times change. It is not sycophancy and blind agreement with superiors, but candid personal opinions and initiative that are valued today. This has been stated from lofty rostrums, and we feel it even more keenly in life, as we await tangible changes. This was our mood when we approached Minister Vladimir Grigoryevich Klyuyev long before the collegium session. We interviewed him. But at the last minute he removed his name from a text that he himself had supplemented and signed.

Let us try to understand the minister. Currently, if one reads the press attentively, a mass onslaught against sectorial headquarters is under way. This is no accident: The constraints hindering restructuring are still strong in this area. This onslaught is also affecting V. Klyuyev. It has not been mounted only by Soviet and foreign clients, businessmen, and journalists. The criticism voiced at the party Central Committee June (1987) Plenum was also scathing and personal: "The position of the Ministry of Light Industry and of Comrade Minister V.G. Klyuyev is an example of how departmental interests are put before the needs of society and, consequently, the needs of the people."

It is hard to live through that kind of experience, to rethink everything, and to then innovatively lead the sector. This takes civic courage. Incidentally, Vladimir Grigoryevich can hardly be called a timid minister. His energy and his habit of never being at a loss for words have been well known since the time when he was first secretary of Ivanovo Party Obkom. He probably met no strong opponents there and felt himself "boss" of the territory.

Perhaps even now there is nothing for which to criticize him. After all, production volume growth rates for many articles increased last year, as a ministry survey shows. The profits plan was not fulfilled, however. The number of loss-making enterprises increased. One in three has failed to cope with the finance indicators. Currently the sector is not reducing its backlog of customer orders, but is seeing it increase. The USSR State Committee for Statistics has reported that this January 377 enterprises failed to fulfill contractual commitments and that the shortfall between the value of output and goods ordered and those actually delivered was R143 million.

Nor has there been any change in the flawed tendency to "develop" the sector. Market surveys of trading conditions show that light industry continues to offer a range of goods that do not meet the population's needs. Because of this, last year people refused to buy R162 million worth of clothes from sewn goods industry workers; for their part, the sewn goods industry workers refused to buy millions of meters of low-quality fabrics in obsolete ranges. This year too, unsatisfied demand for sewn goods has been increasing, with the exception of bed linen. Yet people are not just looking for quality clothes, but quality fabrics, shoes, and also knitwear. They look for them and fail to find them. Instead of all this we are offered expensive carpets, the plan for which has again been overfulfilled.

Well, the sector has been in a complex situation for some time. For many decades it has been viewed as a means of wringing money out of those working in heavy industry and construction. Instead of effective capital investment it was left with crumbs from the general pie. These scanty funds were spent not so much on qualitative improvements to the sector as on boosting "gross output" in terms of an average, abstract per capita figure. The ministry's position is still unclear. Which does it favor—"gross output" as before, or people after all? That is why during his conversation with us the minister asked us to whip the horse rather than the shafts.

We liked this simile. But think about it: Where is the horse, where are the shafts, and where is the cart? Perhaps the very request that we redirect our criticism is an intimation that the ministry leaders do not feel like the "draft horses" of reform in their own sector. But who else will pull the cart? The progress of the entire reform in the country will largely depend on this. Essentially, it is vitally necessary to set up a goods industry that is close to the customer and free of any superfluous centralization and to assert fundamentally different management methods. Of what kind? Ideas on this must emerge first and foremost from ministerial workers.

We note that it is not a question of reinventing the wheel, but of seeking a competent and consistent use for progressive forms of production organization: the lease contract, joint enterprises, industrial-trade and intersectorial scientific complexes. All this will work with the help of the economic accountability mechanism, which will help to get the sector out of its rut.

Is such a mechanism being sought in this area? To judge by the replies received by our editorial office to a recent article, a mechanism has still not been prepared. Yet light industry collectives in Belorussia, Moldavia, and the Baltic republics assert the opposite. PRAVDA has repeatedly discussed this and, particularly, the fact that by using economic methods these republics have been able to considerably deepen and diversify experiments and make them a highly profitable commercial practice. Incidentally, people in the above areas are trying to fulfill the cash plan not by increasing retail prices, but by flooding the market with popular goods, for which people no longer travel to Moscow, Kiev, or Leningrad, but can buy in Minsk, Kishinev, and Vilnius.... From where do people travel? From regions of intensive shoddy workmanship. Such regions have emerged in many oblasts of the RSFSR and the Ukraine, particularly in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Republic councils of ministers and local party organizations have resigned themselves to this.

It would seem that a lesson could be learned from all this: to enrich the entire sector's economic life with grains of real experience. But, as transpired at the collegium session, the USSR Ministry of Light Industry is not generalizing this experience. There is no room among the serried ranks of named seats for seats for their own innovators and "torchbearers."

Incidentally, in his conversation with us the minister repeatedly expressed regret that the individual heroes of former times had passed into history, and called on journalists to inspiredly seek out new heroes. It seems to us he had failed to notice that changing times have also affected this stereotype. We should not be putting our money today on tough and talented self-made men or artificially "fostered" shock workers. It is above all collectives and entire sectors which have skillfully applied economic accountability that should be the real innovators and genuine "torchbearers" of restructuring today.

There is also a more profound reason why the modern experience of the best people strikes the economists and financial experts of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry as disadvantageous and "parochial." The department is concerned above all about gross indicators and the fulfillment of the cash plan at all costs. The interests of genuine "torchbearers" and of the department itself diverge radically.

The following part of the conversation is in this sense typical.

"We are trying to improve both turnover and quality," V. Klyuyev said. "But we must be realistic. Unless the cash plan is fulfilled the economy will mark time. Yet how is it that some people realize this while others place local interests above everything? Would you like examples? Here's one. Have you seen the shirts produced by Director Kremenetskiy of the "Moskva" firm?"

"Yes, but we've never worn them."

"But hundreds of thousands of others do, and they're pleased with them. The price is right, as they say, and so is the quality. The shirts from Tiraspol are better than the Moscow shirts. They came first in a competition, while the Moscow shirts were only third. Yet the average price of the Moldavian shirts is lower."

"But surely that's a good thing! Or are we missing something again and getting the short end of the stick?"

"I don't know if you're missing anything, but every Tiraspol shirt is making our sector miss the retail plan. It's not the time to play around with the public."

"In what sense?"

"It's not only Director Kremenetskiy who should be fulfilling the cash plan."

Incidentally, it is not the shirts that matter here, of course. The question itself strikes us as fundamental. The high-quality cheap Tiraspol shirts did not prevent Moldavia from fulfilling the trade turnover plan last year. On the other hand, Kremenetskiy's expensive shirts did not help the RSFSR cope with the plan.

So a preference for the production of expensive goods was admitted. Although this unusual miscalculation is dressed up to appear attractive: increasing production of particularly fashionable items; industry presents this increase as a growth in its capacity. This could be accepted, were it not for the fact that fashionable articles are produced in place of cheaper articles. The flaw in this idea lies rather in dividing goods into fashionable goods and "popular goods" [shirpotreb]. Who wants to wear an old-fashioned shirt or suit nowadays? All products should be good-quality fashionable products! Otherwise there is simply no need for them.

Playing with the "N" and "D" indexes ["N" denotes a newly introduced item; meaning of "D" is unknown] or with "particularly fashionable" articles is by no means harmless as far as consumers are concerned. Specialists calculate that increases in average retail prices—including prices for light industry—accounted for 30 percent of the growth in trade turnover in the 9th 5-Year Plan, 50 percent in the 10th 5-Year Plan, and around 60 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan. This course is not changing now, either. The uncontrolled raising of prices does not encourage the development of light industry.

There are problems here which, in particular, could be solved by a reform of price formation. It should also entail a revision of other financial routines. Currently, light industry enterprises—and ultimately customers—are being hit twice over: once in the form of deductions from profits for the state budget—which is fair—and then again in the form of turnover tax.

In the sector's relations with the state budget and financial organs there is indeed much that is obsolete and runs counter to the spirit of radical reform. The position of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry itself is quite impossible to understand. The planned joint session between its collegium and the USSR Ministry of Finance has still not been held. Far be it from us to link this situation purely to the minister's lack of resolve. The unanimous reluctance of V. Kalyuzhnyy, chief of the planning and economics administration; G. Novikova, chief of the finance administration; Deputy Ministers A. Pushkin, I. Gritsenko, and O. Poteryakhin; and other sector leaders to face and solve urgent problems is also amazing.

Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, who spoke at the collegium, noted that the leaders of union and a number of republic ministries had failed to draw practical conclusions from the criticism at the June plenum.

Restructuring in the ministry has not gotten off the mark. No general plan has yet been produced for running the sector in line with the spirit of reform. A modern concept of ranges has not been developed. In-depth economic and contractual work is replaced by the stage by stage "handing down" of unbalanced targets, starting, as they say, from "up top"—the USSR Gosplan.

In all we spent 6 hours talking with the minister and, to be honest, we could not find out just what were the prospects for changes in the structure, methods, and style of the sector's leadership. On the other hand, on many occasions the minister cited the effectiveness of the use of the "Ivanovo schedule." There is no point arguing about his favorite brainchild. But can all of restructuring really be squeezed into this sliding schedule?

"We need new ideas and a clear stance," N. Gulev, Belorussian minister of light industry, said. "We already have the so-called Belorussian model of economic accountability. Our experience demands not just recognition but profound analysis. Subsequently, wider application...."

Yes, let us be blunt, his ideas were not developed at the collegium. This kind of obduracy is preventing the sector as a whole from changing direction. Often things are produced that people do not need now and will not need in the future.

Can the sector keep pace with demand if the sales process is artificially divorced from production? Basically selling is not just the last but is also the most important aspect of production. If it is not carried out in a harmonious manner then what we have is not production but a waste of time and money.

Precisely this topical problem is being resolved in Belorussia and in the Baltic republics. It is there that industry-trade associations and firms are being set up. Their aim is to bring factory collectives as close as possible to consumers' needs. Put simply, if they sell goods, they make profits, and so forth. At the USSR Ministry of Light Industry direct-sale trade is welcomed in name, but only 0.6 percent of goods are sold in this way. Perhaps the fear is that if factories themselves get involved in selling and come face to face with customers, then slipshod workmen will find themselves on the rocks.

Yet, to tell the truth, the sector and the trading system are already on the rocks. So what can they cling on to? Are they afraid of losing the "window-dressing" of figures that cover up their inadequacies? They will be laid bare, if not in the eyes of the management studying the pattern of figures, then definitely in the eyes of customers at empty store counters. We spent many hours discussing all this with the minister. We suggested that he candidly state his personal opinion in the newspaper on the acute problems of developing the sector.

"What are you concerned about!" Vladimir Grigoryevich exclaimed. "You think I don't know how to do my own job? I know perfectly well...."

To be honest, we had not expected this turn of events. After all, the minister had asked for the meeting. But, clearly, he was in the mood for lecturing rather than talking: He was not interested in getting down to brass tacks, but in trying to change the emphasis and deflect criticism as far from his own ministry as possible.

Perhaps we had overestimated the scale of departmental candor and forgotten the watchword of the period of stagnation: "If you've nothing to report, don't stick your neck out!" Then we remembered the plastic nameplates tightly screwed onto the backs of seats that arranged ministry employees in order of importance and marked out the boundaries of glasnost. It was as if everyone was being told to know their place and the extent of their importance. A name on a seat, alas, is not the same as a position or a personal opinion.

Gostev Explains Move to New Financial Policy

LD271242 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—"Intensification of production, higher efficiency and quality and rational utilization of resources become the main areas of financial activities in the USSR, Soviet Finance Minister Boris Gostev told journalists.

He said that up to this time the finance system in the USSR served, primarily, planned decisions with its monetary resources, playing the role of an organ which exacted, in the main, taxes. It will preserve this function within reasonable limits.

"The main principles of transition to a new financial policy," the minister noted, "are reflected in the USSR state budget for 1988. It gives special attention to strengthening the financial position of industries, amalgamations and enterprises, as well as of local soviets of people's deputies." The social programme undoubtedly enjoys priority in investment appropriations. Two-thirds of the 1988 state budget, or 402 billion roubles are redistributed, on the whole, for its needs.

Boris Gostev believes that the current year will be decisive in restructuring the country's financial system. Incidentally, changes will affect both its current activities and long-term financial planning.

The transfer of industries, enterprises and organizations, as well as organs of local government to normative relations with the budget is an extremely important aspect of the financial reform. The role of profit will grow substantially under new economic conditions. In future it will become the main source of accumulation of the state treasury.

"At present experts are drafting a special programme for financial revitalization of the Soviet national economy as a whole," Boris Gostev said. It provides for reorienting social production in favour of sectors working directly for consumers.

Aganbegyan Book Deserves 'Place of Honor'

PM010941 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 7, Feb 88 (Signed to Press 11 Feb 88) p 18

[Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Kamayev "Book Review": "The Most Topical Problem"]

[Text] The Book "Ways To Enhance the National Economy's Efficiency" [Puti Povysheniya Effektivnosti Narodnogo Khozyaystva] (Executive editors: Academician A.G. Aganbegyan and Doctor of Economic Sciences D.D. Moskvin. Moscow, Science Publishing House, 1987. 320 pgs) deserves a place of honor among the studies devoted to problems of qualitatively new economic growth and enhancement of the efficiency of social production.

What is it that primarily attracts the reader's attention in this study? What material from the book could he use in his scientific study, practical work, or propaganda of the ideas of acceleration and restructuring?

An answer to these questions is offered by the work's thorough analysis of the contemporary strategy of the CPSU and the Soviet state to accelerate socioeconomic development. There is sound justification for the broad range of questions examined in it: from the revelation of the essence and basic guidelines of the economic strategy of the 27th CPSU Congress to the specific nature of socioeconomic problems of scientific and technical progress and accumulations in today's conditions and ways and means to enhance the Soviet people's prosperity.

There can be no doubt that the reader's interest would be aroused by the book's first two chapters which examine the new quality of economic growth from different viewpoints. It is noteworthy that emphasis here is placed on the social orientation of the national economy's development. This law-governed phenomenon is examined from two main viewpoints: Both as an absolute condition for effective development of social production and as a boost to prosperity and a guarantee of the free and comprehensive development of the individual. On this basis, the second chapter examines the complex socioeconomic system of socialist economic management and its corresponding management system. Here, in our view, there is a certain exaggeration of the importance and role of a single socioeconomic center whose functions cover not only centralized planning but also daily management of economic processes. In the conditions created by the entry into force of the Law on the State Enterprise, the correlation of the functions of the state and of other subjects of socialist ownership is one of the most topical problems. One of the most vital tasks is to find not only in theory but also in practice the truly optimal correlation of the functions of central organs, enterprises, and local organs of Soviet power. It would be no exaggeration to say the success of the economic reform now under way depends on this to a decisive extent. That which the book offers would seem to deserve a more diversified examination.

The work also contains a number of controversial interpretations of the development of production. For example, the problem of the correlation between subdivisions I and II of social production has hitherto been unambiguously interpreted both in theory and in practice. In our view, the book seems to adopt a convincing approach toward the analysis of the production of means of production not as a single whole but as a complex made up of production processes which differ in their economic nature and their purpose. This leads to a logical conclusion about the faster development not of the entire subdivision I as a whole but only of sectors and production processes ensuring the manufacture of the most efficient and advanced types of means of production (p 44). The authors perceive this fact as one of the levers for intensification of the national economy.

It is well-known that machine building has a determining role to play in using the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The book, in addition to propositions revealing the development of the machine building complex in conditions of the national economy's new technical reconstruction, substantiates the thesis of individualization—"the manufacture of output, taking into account the demands of the consumers of this output, in relatively small batches using the methods and organization of mass production... Such individualization of mass production helps to ensure means of production and objects of consumption are increasingly 'tailor-made to suit the consumer'" (p 112).

This might appear to be a minor detail, but I think one could agree with the author that herein lies a long-term fundamental trend in the economics of scientific and technical progress. Incidentally, this approach has enabled the authors to adopt a fresh approach toward many problems concerning the implementation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

It is, however, not quite clear why the examination of the problems of scientific and technical progress and machine building overlooks one of today's most important economic tasks, namely the relative reduction of the price of new equipment—the reduction of expenditure per unit of useful effect. World market practice shows that, unless this indicator falls, our machines, equipment, and means of transportation will be unable to compete. It is no accident that the proportion of machines, equipment, and means of transportation in Soviet exports increases extremely slowly and today is still less than 15 percent.

Readers will also find an original and interesting evaluation of growth rates (as applied to industry) and a comparison in "price" and "physical" terms. According to data cited in the study, the growth of gross output in "unchanged" prices and in physical terms amounted to 85 and 117 percent respectively in the 5th 5-Year Plan period, 64 and 91 percent in the 6th 5-Year Plan period, 51 and 60 percent in the 7th 5-Year Plan period, 51 and 39 percent in the 8th 5-Year Plan period, 43 and 25 percent in the 9th 5-Year Plan period, 24 and 7 percent in the 10th 5-Year Plan period, and 20 and 10 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan period. The book attributes this paradox to shortcomings in price formation for new output, especially in connection with positive structural changes in social production.

What has been said is by no means a complete list of new and nontraditional approaches toward the solution of topical theoretical and practical problems of raising the efficiency of social production in the conditions of radical economic reform. They will no doubt arouse readers' interest. This, however, renders somewhat incomprehensible some deviations from innovative approaches, as, for example, when the authors exaggerate, in our view, our real achievements in economic competition with the United States in the labor productivity sphere (p 141). This demands a deeper approach toward the analysis of published indicators, especially as comparisons with 1950 are not always correct. On reading this work, one would also like to find out more about long-term directions and trends in the development of economic accountability, economic incentives, and socialist economic integration, where there is proportionately more descriptive narrative.

It is important that the book offers food for thought and helps people to evaluate economic building and their own contribution toward the new quality of economic growth from positions of restructuring.

Joint Enterprises Face 'Numerous Difficulties'

LD271935 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—Twenty nine joint industrial enterprises with the participation of foreign partners have been registered in the USSR. Some of them have started already their production activities. The first consignments of goods have been produced. This was stated at a two-day conference of directors general of the joint industrial enterprises created in the USSR that came to a close here today.

Joint ventures, as all the new undertakings, are coming up against numerous difficulties, participants in the conference pointed out. During a short period of time that has passed since the adoption of the laws that paved the way to the creation of joint enterprises in the USSR they proved their economic effectiveness and flexibility and achieved a high labour productivity.

At the same time, participants in the conference emphasized that the working out of new legal regulations sometimes did not keep up with the development of new forms of economic activity. Effective ways of maintaining relations of joint enterprises with various organizations and local government bodies have not been fully developed so far. Joint enterprises often face the situation when workers of the state and economic management bodies do not understand new flexible economic principles determining their activities and try to strictly regulate their work with the help of numerous instructions.

In these conditions coordination of actions of the Soviet executives heading the joint enterprises acquires special importance. With this in view they set up a council of directors general. Lev Vainberg, director general of the Soviet-Italian-French enterprise Interquadro, was elected its chairman.

Agricultural

Further on Nikonov Kazakhstan Tour

Visits Dzhambul Oblast

PM291645 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 p 1

[KAZTAG report: "Visit to Dzhambul Oblast"]

[Text] V.P. Nikonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, was in Dzhambul Oblast 9 February. He familiarized himself with the activity of the oblast party organization to fulfill the directives of the 27th party congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and with progress in resolving questions of implementing radical economic reform and further democratizing society's life.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the Novodzhambul phosphorus plant and the Dzhambul superphosphate plant where he asked about the introduction of new technology and prospects for development and visited a shop. The phosphorus plant collective is working stably in the 2d year of state acceptance, ensuring the fulfillment of contractual delivery commitments, including to a number of socialist community countries. Direct ties with foreign partners are being organized. In the superphosphate plant an ammophosphate complex for manufacturing a qualitatively new type of mineral fertilizer has begun operation. But the capacities of the chemical production unit have not been fully exploited. The output of phosphorus fertilizers needs to be increased. Reducing waste discharge into the atmosphere and improving the entire ecological situation in the region are among the urgent problems. In conversation with workers and specialists and party and soviet workers specific ways of accelerating the switch to the new methods of economic management and raising the role of labor collectives and their councils in resolving economic and social questions were mentioned. Attention was focused on the need to step up in every possible way the activity of party organizations and every Communist.

V.P. Nikonov asked about workers' working and living conditions, housing construction, and the switch to full economic accountability and self-financing, which makes it possible to significantly improve working people's life and work indicators.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited trade enterprises in the oblast center. At the turkey-raising factory he stressed the need to process the meat more thoroughly and to use the opportunity to sell it in own-brand cafes and stores.

S.K. Kubashev, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee second secretary, E.Kh. Gukasov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Kazakh SSR Gosagroprom chairman, A.K. Zhakupov, party obkom first secretary, S.A. Medvedev, oblispolkom secretary, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Gosagroprom, and other union ministries and departments accompanied V.P. Nikonov on his trip.

Visits Alma-Ata Enterprises

PM291705 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 88 p 1

[KAZTAG report: "V.P. Nikonov's Visit to Kazakhstan"]

[Text] V.P. Nikonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, arrived in Alma-Ata 8 February. On that day he visited the P.F. Tomarovskiy Sovkhoz in Talgarskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast, which is making a significant contribution to implementing the Food Program. By carrying out livestock raising on a scientific basis, the farm is increasing livestock unit productivity annually and has achieved high profitability.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the livestock raising facilities and asked about the livestock breeds which react most quickly to improved feeding conditions and accommodation by increasing their productivity. Purposeful work is being conducted on the farm in close collaboration with scientists from the Kazakh Livestock Raising Research Institute to create a stable herd marked by high productivity and adapted to industrial techniques of milk production.

In conversations with workers and specialists the need for organic integration of science and production was stressed. The importance of further strengthening the feed base by expanding the cultivation of high-protein crops was noted. The great role of soybeans in this is well known. They produce highly nutritious feed, edible oil, and many other types of valuable products. The sovkhoz is utilizing yet another reserve for increasing the feed base—yeast production. The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the shop where yeast is used to enrich feed, which helps increase milk yields and fat content.

Then V.P. Nikonov visited the "Issyk" agro-industrial combine's "Oktyabrskiy" Sovkhoz in Enbekshikazakhskiy Rayon. A multinational collective lives and works there. Much attention is paid to the workers' needs: The "Housing-91" program is being successfully implemented and social, cultural, and consumer service facilities are being constructed. "Issyk" delivers its output mainly to Alma-Ata stores and markets. The importance of further strengthening the agro-industrial combine's ties with personal subsidiary plots and of creating its own stores and public catering enterprises was noted.

The following accompanied V.P. Nikonov on his trip: G.V. Kolbin, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary ; N.A. Nazarbayev, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers chairman; S.K. Kubashev, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee second secretary; M.S. Mendybayev, Alma-Ata Kazakh Communist Party Obkom first secretary; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Gosagroprom, and other union ministries and departments.

Scientific

Activities on 'Mir' Orbital Complex Described

LD011512 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The Mir orbital complex manned by Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov continues its flight.

The cosmonauts are continuing their work with the Progress-34 automatic transport ship. They have stored the freight brought by it and are loading it with spent equipment. Parallel to this the fuel tanks of the Mir propulsion plant are being filled with fuel and oxidizer. These operations are being performed on commands of the onboard computer and monitored by the crew.

The power supply system of the Mir complex includes an experimental section of a solar battery which was installed by Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov during their space walk and is now being tested. At present specialists are assessing the efficiency of the new photoelectric converters at different angles of their illumination by the sun.

The flight is passing normally.

Both cosmonauts are feeling well.

Talks on Nuclear Physics Joint Research Center

LD011124 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Dubna (Moscow region) March 1 TASS—The main trends of research in the field of nuclear physics have been outlined and generalized by experts of the socialist countries in the comprehensive program for development of the Joint Nuclear Research Institute up to the year 2000. A meeting of the committee of plenipotentiary representatives of 11 member-countries of the international physics centre has opened in Dubna today. The delegates are to discuss and endorse that program.

The institute set up 30 years ago associates scientists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. More than 600 researchers permanently work in Dubna. The institute has the status of an international organization and consequently the research carried out here is financed by all the participating countries, a TASS correspondent was reminded in an interview by Academician Nikolay Bogolyubov, the director of the institute.

Now Dubna has two operating accelerators of elementary particles, which are superior in their parametres to similar plants in France, the FRG, Switzerland and the USA, Bogolyubov continued. They ensure effective investigations in the field of physics of the microworld and synthesis of new elements of the periodic system. It was precisely here that the 110th element was synthesised last August. The impulse fast neutron reactor in operation in Dubna is without an analogue in the world. The power of the flux of thermal neutrons generated by it is 300 times that of the similar plant in the USA.

"The development of physics necessitates the creation of new experimental plants", Academician Bogolyubov said. "Therefore the comprehensive program provides for the creation in Dubna of a new accelerator—nuclotron. It will be able to accelerate the nuclei of all elements of the periodic system down to uranium with an energy of 6,000 million electron-volts."

The research carried out by Dubna physicists is not confined to the fundamental problems, Academician Bogolyubov stressed. Thus the beams of charged particles obtained in accelerators are used to study the possibility of treatment of oncological diseases and the production of nuclear filters. Work has been started to study the effects of superconductivity in ceramics in "room" temperatures, with which experts link progress in many fields of technology, above all in electronics.

Research Ship Prepares for First Atlantic Voyage

PM020851 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading: "Five-Year Plan: Third Year"]

[Text] Kaliningrad, 25 Feb—The new ocean-going research ship "Akademik Sergey Vavilov" arrived in its port of registration today. It has been built by the Finnish firm of Hollming.

The "Akademik Sergey Vavilov" is the fifth ship of the Kaliningrad Atlantic Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oceanology designed to operate on a long autonomous voyage. Its crew has now begun preparing for the first working trip to the Atlantic.